



Media Reporting of War Crimes Trials and Civil Society Responses in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone

Abou Binneh-Kamara

This is a digitised version of a dissertation submitted to the University of Bedfordshire.

It is available to view only.

This item is subject to copyright.

Media Reporting of War Crimes Trials and Civil Society Responses in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone

By Abou Bhakarr M. Binneh-Kamara

**A thesis submitted to the University of Bedfordshire in partial
fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of
Philosophy.**

January, 2015

ABSTRACT

This study, which seeks to contribute to the shared-body of knowledge on media and war crimes jurisprudence, gauges the impact of the media's coverage of the Civil Defence Forces (CDF) and Charles Taylor trials conducted by the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) on the functionality of civil society organizations (CSOs) in promoting transitional (post-conflict) justice and democratic legitimacy in Sierra Leone. The media's impact is gauged by contextualizing the stimulus-response paradigm in the behavioral sciences. Thus, media contents are rationalized as stimuli and the perceptions of CSOs' representatives on the media's coverage of the trials are deemed to be their responses. The study adopts contents (framing) and discourse analyses and semi-structured interviews to analyse the publications of the selected media (For Di People, Standard Times and Awoko) in Sierra Leone.

The responses to such contents are theoretically explained with the aid of the structured interpretative and post-modernistic response approaches to media contents. And, methodologically, CSOs' representatives' responses to the media's contents are elicited by ethnographic surveys (group discussions) conducted across the country. The findings from the contents and discourse analyses, semi-structured interviews and ethnographic surveys are triangulated to establish how the media's coverage of the two trials impacted CSOs' representatives' perceptions on post-conflict justice and democratic legitimacy in Sierra Leone. To test the validity and reliability of the findings from the ethnographic surveys, four hundred (400) questionnaires, one hundred (100) for each of the four regions (East, South, North and Western Area) of Sierra Leone, were administered to barristers, civil/public servants, civil society activists, media practitioners, students etc.

The findings, which reflected the perceptions of people from large swathe of opinions in Sierra Leone, appeared to have dovetailed with those of the CSOs' representatives across the country. The study established that the media's coverage of the CDF trial appeared to have been tainted with ethno-regional prejudices, and seemed to be 'a continuation of war by other means'. However, the focus groups perceived the media reporting as having a positive effect on the pursuit of post-conflict justice, good governance and democratic accountability in Sierra Leone. The coverage of the Charles Taylor trial appeared to have been devoid of ethno-regional prejudices, but, in the view of the CSOs, seemed to have been coloured by lenses of patriotism and nationalism.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I must thank the British Academy for funding this project and my post-graduate study at the University of Bedfordshire. To my tireless supervisor, Professor Jon Silverman, I acknowledge your unwavering supports and contributions to this thesis, which would not have seen the light of dawn without your critical but invaluable comments.

I must also express sincere thanks, appreciation and gratitude to Professor Ivor Gaber (University of Bedfordshire), Professor S. P. Thomas-Gbamanja and Mrs. Bernadette Cole (University of Sierra Leone) and Dr. Josephus Jeremiah Brimah-Jah (Njala University), for the relentless moral and academic spurring, which they demonstrated to me since the dawn of this project.

To my late brother, Musa Binneh-Kamara and spiritual father Reverend Torkumboh, I salute you for the moral supports and encouragements you gave me up to when you departed this World. To my mother, Rugiatsu Bangura, and late father, Rabin Binneh-Kamara, I say thank you for everything.

Finally, to my son, Travis, the light in my life, I say a big thank you.

LIST OF FIGURES

CDF TRIAL

Figure 1: For Di People's Reportage

Figure 2: Standard Times' Reportage

Figure 3: Awoko's Reportage

Figure 4: The Selected Media's Total Reportage (CDF trial)

Figure 5: Break down of the Total Reportage of the Selected Media (CDF trial)

TAYLOR TRIAL

Figure 6: For Di People's Reportage

Figure 7: Standard Times' Reportage

Figure 8: Awoko's Reportage

Figure 9: The Selected Media's Total Reportage (Taylor trial)

Figure 10: Breakdown of the Total Reportage of the Selected Media (Taylor trial)

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

Figure 11: Age Distribution of Respondents

Figure 12: Distribution of whether respondents provided vital information

Figure 13: Response about whether the money spent on the CDF trial was worth while

Figure 14: Response about whether the money spent on the Taylor trial was worthwhile

LIST OF TABLES

CDF TRIAL

Table 1: For Di People's Reportage (CDF trial)

Table 2: Standard Times' Reportage (CDF trial)

Table 3: Awoko's Reportage (CDF trial)

Table 4: The Selected Media's Total Reportage (CDF trial)

Table 5: Comprehensive Representation of the Reportage (CDF trial)

TAYLOR TRIAL

Table 6: For Di People's Reportage (Taylor trial)

Table 7: Standard Times' Reportage (Taylor trial)

Table 8: Awoko's Reportage (Taylor trial)

Table 9: The Selected Media's Total Reportage (Taylor trial)

Table 10: Comprehensive Representation of the Total Reportage (Taylor trial)

TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE

Table 11: Occupational Distribution

Table 12: Sex Distribution

Table 13: Age Distribution

Table 14: Respondents' Awareness of the Media's reporting of the CDF and Taylor trials

Table 15: Sources of Information about the trials

Table 16: Responses to whether the Respondents understood what the Media Reported about the CDF trial

Table 17: Responses to whether the Respondents understood what the Media Reported about the Taylor trial

Table 18: Responses to whether the Media's Coverage provided vital information about the trial of the CDF Leaders

Table 19: How the Media's Coverage of the CDF trial influenced Respondents' Opinion

Table 20: How the Media's Coverage of the Taylor trial influenced Respondents' Opinion

Table 21a: Responses about whether the Media's Coverage of the CDF trial was balanced

Table 21b: Responses about whether the Media's Coverage of the Taylor trial was balanced

Table 22: Responses about why the money spent in the CDF trial not considered worthwhile

Table 23: Reasons why the money spent on the Taylor trial not considered worthwhile

Table 24: Things learned from the TRC Hearing through the Media's Coverage

Table 25: Influences of the Media's Coverage of the TRC proceedings on the attitudes of Respondents towards the Justice system of Sierra Leone

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	i
Acknowledgments	ii
List of Figures	iii
List of Tables	iv
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	1
1.1 Background and Research Context	1
1.2 Aims and Objectives	5
1.3 Research Questions	5
1.4 Methodology	6
1.5 Significance of the Study	6
1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study	7
1.7 Thesis Structure	8
CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	9
2.0 Introduction	9
2.1 The Media and War Crimes Jurisprudence	10
2.1.1 The Media and the Nuremberg Military Tribunal	11
2.1.2 The Media and the Tokyo Military Tribunal	12
2.1.3 Cold War Politics, the Media and War Crimes Jurisprudence	14
2.1.4 The Media and the ICTY and ICTR	15
2.2 Advancing the Frontiers of Media and War Crimes Jurisprudence	19
CHAPTER THREE: THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS	33
3.0 Introduction	33
3.1 The Media	33
3.1.1 Media History in Perspective	38
3.1.2 The Print Media	39

3.1.3	The Electronic Media	40
3.1.4	Media Groupings	41
3.1.5	Functional and Conflict Perspective of the Media	42
3.2	Civil Society	43
3.3	Transitional (Post-Conflict) Justice	53
3.3.1	The SCSL and the TRC: Implications for Transitional Justice and War Crimes Jurisprudence in Sierra Leone	57
3.4	The Media, Civil Society and Transitional Justice: The Theoretical Synergy Analysed	62
CHAPTER FOUR: MODELS OF MEDIA ANALYSIS		67
4.0	Introduction	67
4.1	Content Models of Media Analysis	67
4.2	Response Models of Media Analysis	78
CHAPTER FIVE: METHODOLOGICAL FRAMEWORKS		80
5.0	Introduction	80
5.1	Framing and Discourse Analyses: Theoretical and Methodological Implications	81
5.2	The Sample Frame and Sample Size for the Content Analysis	87
5.3	The Selected Media	88
5.3.1	For Di People	88
5.3.2	Standard Times	89
5.3.3	Awoko	90
5.4	Approaching the Content Analysis	91
5.5	The Structure and Contents of the Semi-Structured Interviews	94
5.6	The Ethnographic Surveys: The Group Discussions	95
5.7	The Content and Structure of the Questionnaires	96
5.8	The Sample Frame and Sample Size	96
5.9	Data Collection Procedures Designed for the Distribution/Administration of the Four Hundred (400) Questionnaires and Challenges Encountered	97

CHAPTER SIX: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE CDF TRIAL	98
6.0 Introduction	98
6.1 Background to the Content Analysis	98
6.2 Content Analysis: The Qualitative Dimension	100
6.2.1 The Rebel War and its Controversies	100
6.2.2 Kabbah's Role in the Conflict	110
6.2.3 Territorial Integrity/Sovereignty and the Defence of Democracy/the SLPP Government	116
6.2.4 The Resurgence of War Crimes Jurisprudence versus Political Expediency	121
6.2.5 The Prosecution-Reconciliation Debate	125
6.3 Content Analysis: The Quantitative Dimension	128
6.4 Discourse Analysis	136
6.4.1 For Di People	137
6.4.2 Standard Times	138
6.4.3 Awoko	139
6.5 Semi-Structured Interviews	140
6.6 The Ethnographic Surveys: Group Discussions	151
6.7 Triangulating the Answers to Research Questions 1 and 2	157
CHAPTER SEVEN: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS OF THE TAYLOR TRIAL	161
7.0 Introduction	161
7.1 Background to the Content Analysis	161
7.2 Content Analysis: The Qualitative Dimension	162
7.2.1 Charles Taylor's Role in the Conflict	163
7.2.2 The International Community's Role in Bringing Taylor to Justice	168
7.2.3 Sovereign Immunity and Extraterritoriality in the Face of War Crimes Jurisprudence.....	172
7.2.4 Ending Impunity versus Post-Conflict Reconciliation/Poverty Alleviation	175
7.2.5 International Conspiracy versus Regional Integration	184

7.3	Content Analysis: The Quantitative Dimension	189
7.4	Discourse Analysis	198
7.5	Semi-Structured Interviews	203
7.6	The Ethno-graphic Surveys: Focus Group Discussions	209
7.7	Triangulating the Answers to Research Questions 3 and 4	211

CHAPTER EIGHT: DATA PRESENTATION AND ANALYSIS (MEDIA'S INFLUENCE ON TRANSITIONAL JUSTICE).....216

8.0	Introduction	216
8.1	Section A: Respondents' Bio Data	216
8.2	Section B: Media Reporting of the CDF and Taylor Trials	219
8.3	Section C: Respondent's Responses to the Media's Coverage of the TRC	227

CHAPTER NINE: SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS230

9.1	Summary	230
9.2	Conclusion	231
9.3	Recommendations	232
9.3.1	The Media	232
9.3.2	Civil Society	234
9.3.3	Transitional Justice	234

APPENDICES236

Appendix I: Bibliography	236
Appendix II: Reports	262
Appendix III: Newspapers and Magazines	270
Appendix IV: Questionnaires	287

Appendix V: Ethnographic Surveys (Group Discussions) and Interviews	291
Appendix VI: Interviews	297
Appendix VII: Statutes, International Treaties, Conventions and Judgments of International Tribunals and Domestic Courts.....	298

Chapter One

Introduction

1.1 Background and Research Context

This study on 'Media Reporting of War Crimes Trials and Civil Society Responses in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone' deals with five significant issues that have attracted lots of theorisation in communications media and international law and relations. The first is the transformation of the media landscape and its increasingly pervasive influence on domestic and global issues (Newman, 2011: 6-7, Megenta, 2011: 3-6, Dizard Jr., 2000: 1, Gilboa, 2005: 27-29, Croker, Hampson and Aall, 2003: xvii). The second is the reinvigoration of the impacts of Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) in hitherto despotic (now democratic) states (Salamon, Anheier, et. al., 1999: 3-8, Okigbo, 2000: 63-65).

The third is the issue of intra-states conflicts in ethnically divided societies- the Former Yugoslavia, Rwanda and Sierra Leone, being the notable examples (White, Little and Smith, 1997: 4, Ryan, 1997: 174-178, Futamura, 2008:7, Kandeh, 2004: 177-179, Hayward and Kandeh, 1987: 47, Abdallah, 2004: 5). The fourth and fifth issues are the emergence and resurgence of the notions of humanitarian intervention (Harris, 2004: 953-956, Shaw, 2003: 252, 104-8) and war crimes jurisprudence (Goldstein, 2001: 333-337, Kegley, Jr., 2007:237, 249-554) as international responses to such conflicts.

Though ethnicity was not the mono-causal factor of the decade long (1991-2002) conflict in Sierra Leone, it was singled out by the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC Report, Vol. II, 2004: 11) as one of the principal factors that exacerbated a war that has been described as the most horrific and destructive in modern African history (Ayissi and Poulton, 2000:3, Macauley, 2012:31). The war ended the lives of over 160,000 and displaced over two million people (Shaw, 2012:109, Kargbo, 2011:190) and left the whole of Sierra Leone and its infrastructure in ruins. The amputation of limbs was the signature atrocity of the war, which even threatened regional peace and security in West Africa (Hirsch, 2001: 71, Francis, 2001: 111-113).

The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), in the name of regional peace and security, humanitarian intervention and human rights, through its military wing (ECOMOG), and with the support of the Civil Defence Forces (CDF), intervened in the conflict and deposed the illegal Armed Forces Revolutionary Council (AFRC) and Revolutionary United Front (RUF) de facto regime, which had seized state power in a bloody coup d'état on the 25th May, 1997, from the constitutionally elected Sierra Leone People's Party (SLPP) Government of Alhaji Dr. Ahmed Tejan Kabbah.

However, though the intervention tentatively stabilised the situation and restored the legitimate SLPP Government, the defeated AFRC\RUF alliance, was resuscitated and supplied with arms and ammunition from neighbouring Liberia, under the auspices of the former Liberian President, Charles Ghankay Taylor, to launch the infamous 'Operation No Living Thing', which climaxed the most reckless destruction of lives and property in Freetown in January, 1999 (Summary of Appeals Chamber Judgment, 2013: 7-8, Gberie, 2005: 117-132, Hirsch, op.cit: 71-75). The Lome Peace Accord (LPA) was eventually signed by the SLPP Government and the RUF to end the internecine war. However, the failure of the RUF to respect the terms and conditions of the LPA and the unnecessary demands of the AFRC, which claimed to have gained nothing from the LPA, warranted the signing of the Abuja Peace Accord (APA), which eventually ended the war (Kabbah, 2010: 169-170).

The period following the end of the war coincided with the resurgence of war crimes jurisprudence as a robust international response to violators of International Humanitarian Law (IHL). The Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL), which was a construct neither of the LPA nor the APA, was established in Sierra Leone, pursuant to the UN Security Council's Resolution of 15th August, 2000 (Resolution 1315), to 'prosecute persons, who bear the greatest responsibility for serious violations of IHL and Sierra Leonean law, committed in the territory of Sierra Leone since 30th November, 1996'.

The SCSL thus conducted three distinct trials in Freetown, Sierra Leone, to try the leaders of the respective warring factions-RUF, AFRC and CDF - who were convicted (and are now serving their sentences in Rwanda) for war crimes and crimes against humanity. A fourth hearing took place in The Hague, when the former Liberian President Taylor, was arrested on an eleven (11) count

indictment after a three year exile in Nigeria (Penfold, 2012:184). Taylor's trial was held in The Hague (not in Freetown) for reasons of regional security, pursuant to Resolution 1688 of 2006 (see also Alie, 2007: 251). Taylor was convicted on 26th April, 2012, for aiding and abetting the RUF in committing war crimes and crimes against humanity during the war years in Sierra Leone.¹

He appealed his conviction, but the Appeals' Chamber upheld the Trial Chamber II's verdict on 26th September, 2013.² Taylor is now serving his sentence in the United Kingdom. He is the only African head of state, to have been tried and convicted by a war crimes court.³ The call to bring war criminals to justice, through independent, impartial and credible judicial mechanisms, with intra or extra territorial jurisdictions, at the end of the cold war, cannot be attributed to the conscientious efforts of jurists and the international community alone. The media (local and international) and CSOs have played an instrumental role in the clamour for war crimes jurisprudence and the promotion of post-conflict democratic legitimacy in Africa and beyond (Strauss, 2002:185, Sarajevo, 2011: 8-11, Penfold, 2012:187, Hirsch, 2001: 88-90: 96, Futamura, 2008:26, McQuail, 2000: 343-344, Gberie, 2005: 199). Moreover, in recent past, prosecutors have even referred to media reports as evidence of their efforts to try war crimes suspects from Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia, and most recently from Sierra Leone and Liberia (Shaw, op. cit: 26).

In Sierra Leone, the local media and CSOs conscientiously raised the awareness in a post-conflict context to subject human rights transgressors to war crimes trials (see Appendix III^{38, 148,305}). The local media also monitored, reported and analysed the operations of the SCSL, in the interest of perpetrators and victims and for the benefit of CSOs that relied on such analysis to make informed decisions about the dynamics and impacts of judicial accountability in post-conflict Sierra Leone (Jabati, 2013, see Appendix III^{19, 359}). I chose the CDF and Taylor trials because they were contentious and they appeared to have polarised the media's coverage and

¹Prosecutor v Charles G. Taylor, SCSL-03-01-T, Judgment, 18th May, 2012

²See Appeals Chamber Judgment, of 26th September, 2013.

³Though the African Union (AU) is very critical of the indictments and trials of other sitting heads of state (Presidents Omar al-Bashir and Uhuru Kenyatta of Sudan and Kenya, respectively) and ex- leaders (Laurent Gbagbo of Ivory Coast, for example) (Plessis, 2010:13-14, New African, August- September, 2012: 12-13, BBC News, 12th October, 2013.

CSOs' perceptions. It is true that radio is the most widespread means of communication in Sierra Leone, primarily because of the low level of literacy, but newspapers were chosen for three fundamental reasons.

First, because of the logistical impracticality of obtaining sufficient audio recordings of the CDF and Taylor trials, whereas I had unhindered access to newspaper archives in the Resource Centre of the Independent Media Commission (IMC) in Sierra Leone. Second, given my limited resources, it was far more realistic to do a rigorous coding analysis of print contents than to transcribe hours of audio recordings. And third, since the study, *inter alia*, is interested in the attitudes of CSOs, many of whose representatives DO read newspapers, I considered it quite relevant to focus this study on the print media as a credible alternative to radio.

Of the three trials held in Freetown (AFRC, RUF and CDF), it is argued that the CDF trial constituted a crucially significant legal and political step for Sierra Leone. Unlike the RUF and AFRC trials, which were overwhelmingly sanctioned by the international community and a significant proportion of Sierra Leoneans, the CDF trial was viewed with suspicion and mixed feelings both in and out of Sierra Leone. Some jurists and journalists were of the opinion, that the CDF trial would undermine post-conflict reconciliation and stability in Sierra Leone (see Appendix III^{65, 307}). They also argued that the indicted and convicted CDF leaders fought to defend the country's territorial integrity and restore the democratically elected Government (SLPP) (Justice Thompson, 2007, Justice Gelaga-King, 2008-CDF Trial Chamber's Judgment).

Human rights activists, on the other hand, contended that in pursuit of their political objectives, the CDF committed heinous crimes against the people of Sierra Leone for which they should be held accountable. They further argued that impunity does not have any place in IHL, which equally applies to every party to a conflict; regardless of its reason for fighting (see Appendix III^{147, 231}). The Taylor trial was similarly divisive. Some Sierra Leoneans were of the view that Taylor had presidential immunities. And as the sitting President of an independent sovereign state (Liberia), he should not have been indicted and subjected to war crimes trials by a hybrid court that lacked a UN Chapter Seven mandate, but most Sierra Leoneans (media practitioners included) believed he was to be held responsible, to a greater or lesser extent, for his role in the conflict in the 1990s (Francis, *op. cit.*: 111-112,) (see Appendix III^{310, 512}).

Nevertheless, there has also been a view reflected in the media, that the sums of money spent on the trials might have been better used on rebuilding a shattered infrastructure and compensating the victims of violence and war and promoting post-conflict reconciliation in Sierra Leone (Alie, op.cit: 252, see Appendix III^{290, 472}). The media's discursive treatments of the above issues are conceptualised in the chapter dealing with theoretical and conceptual frameworks. The data analysis is consonant with accepted models of media analysis. In the context of sub-Saharan Africa, where there are few reliable measurements of 'public opinion' through polling, CSOs are a useful surrogate in testing social attitudes (Macauley, 2012). This approach is outlined in more detailed in the methodological frameworks chapter. I have narrowed the scope of the enquiry by focusing on the reporting of war crimes trials and asking whether, in the two trials chosen, the coverage was 'a continuation of war by other means'(Markovic and Subasic, 2011: 24). In other words, whether many of the ethnic tensions and divisions manifested during the decade of conflict, continued to be reflected in the media's coverage of either or both trials.

1.2 Aims and Objectives

This study has two fundamental aims and objectives:

1. To evaluate selected newspapers coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials to ask whether the coverage was 'a continuation of war by other means'.
2. To interrogate CSOs' representatives' responses of the media's coverage of the two trials, to ascertain its role in the promotion of good governance and democratic accountability in post-conflict Sierra Leone.

1.3 Research Questions

1. How did selected media in Sierra Leone represent the CDF trial?
2. How was this coverage received by CSOs' representatives in Sierra Leone?
3. How did selected media in Sierra Leone represent the Taylor trial?
4. How was this coverage received by CSOs' representatives in Sierra Leone?

5. What influence has media coverage had on attitudes towards post-conflict justice in Sierra Leone?

1.4 Methodology

A combination of qualitative and quantitative methodological frameworks (see analysis between 5.0 and 5.8) has been devised for the study. The methods are adopted to answer the research questions in sequential order. Research questions 1 and 3, which are cognate with the content models of media analysis (see 4.1), are answered consonant with both the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of content analysis (see 5.4), qualitative discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews (see 5.5). Research questions 2 and 4, which relate to the response models of media analysis (see 4.2), are answered in line with the ethnographic surveys (group discussions) organised for CSOs' representatives across Sierra Leone (see 5.6). And research question 5, which is also related to the response models of media analysis, is answered with the aid of questionnaires administered to respondents, who were randomly selected from the twelve districts and the Western Area of Sierra Leone (see 5.7).

1.5 Significance of the Study

This work seeks to make a contribution to the shared-body of knowledge on media and war crimes jurisprudence. Essentially, the development of war crimes jurisprudence is not unconnected with the clamour for the ideals of human rights across the globe and both CSOs and the media are crucial in the human rights campaign. In Sierra Leone, the local media vociferously reported the proceedings of the SCSL and was used by CSOs to monitor the credibility of the legal processes, leading to the indictments, trials, convictions and sentences of war criminals. Thus, the dialectics that emerged from the legal processes as represented by the local media are worth researching. And the findings of such enquiry will fill a void in the African literature on media and war crimes jurisprudence (see 2.1 and 2.2 for a more detailed analysis on this issue). The study can also serve as a reference material for future researchers and as a source of reference for policy formulation relating to communications media effects research in relation to war crimes. It can also serve as a valuable archival material for generations yet

unborn to understand (through media coverage) the dynamics of Sierra Leone's decade long conflict, the transitional justice process that emerged from the conflict and how the country's post-conflict recovery efforts were sustained.

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

Though the SCSL conducted four distinct trials, this study restricts itself to only the CDF and Taylor trials. The local media indeed communicated the heuristics that evolved from all four trials, but the dialectics that emerged from dispatches that are cognate with both the RUF and AFRC trials, are thus beyond the scope of this study. Such dialectics may probably be explored by future researchers in a bid to advance the frontiers of media and war crimes jurisprudence. Although the study is a critical analysis of media coverage of both the CDF and Taylor trials, it does not cover both trials in their entirety; for reasons discussed in the study's methodological frameworks (see 5.4).

The study rather compartmentalises media coverage of the pre-trial, trial and post-trial phases of both trials, focusing on a specific number of months at each of the above stages (see 5.4). The landscape of Sierra Leone's print media is too broad a sample for any communications media research, since there are more than eighty registered newspapers in the country (see 3.1.2). Thus, for reasons thoroughly articulated in the methodological frameworks (see 5.4), this study focuses on the coverage of only three of the leading newspapers in the country- ***For Di People***, ***Standard Times*** and ***Awoko***.

The literature for this study is reviewed in so far as it relates to the study's aims and objectives and research questions (see 2.1 and 2.2). In other words, of the innumerable and ground breaking publications in communications media effects research, it is only those that are relevant to media and war crimes jurisprudence that are put into perspective in this study. The study is not about the conflict in Sierra Leone. It has rather contextualised it for a thorough comprehension of the circumstances, leading to the institutionalisation of the whole transitional justice process, how the media reflected the CDF and Taylor trials, and how it has more importantly, shaped attitudes towards post-conflict justice in Sierra Leone.

1.7 Thesis Structure

The study is divided into nine (9) chapters. The first covers the introductory component. The second looks into the existing literature on media and war crimes jurisprudence and proposes to advance the shared-body of knowledge of same. The third deals with the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of the media, civil society and transitional justice in general and also analyses the theoretical synergy of all three concepts and put them into context in post-conflict Sierra Leone. The fourth critically analyses both the content and response models of media analysis, consonant with a plethora of issues and events that evolved from the coverage of both trials.

The fifth restricts itself to the combination of the qualitative and quantitative methodologies designed for the study. The sixth revolves around the empirical analysis of the findings from the coverage of the CDF trial and how CSOs' representatives perceived the coverage. The seventh takes in the empirical analysis of the findings from the coverage of the Taylor trial and how CSOs' representatives perceived the coverage. The eighth concerns itself with the empirical analysis of the findings relative to the coverage of the issues on transitional justice (prosecutorial and reconciliatory) in Sierra Leone and how the coverage was perceived by Sierra Leoneans from a large swathe of opinions. And the ninth extends to the summary, conclusion and recommendations by way of comparative analysis of the two trials in line with the models of media analysis and methodological frameworks that are replicated in this study.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

2.0 Introduction

The previous chapter covers the background and context of this study. This chapter, *inter alia*, explores the existing literature on media and war crimes jurisprudence to ascertain the shared body of knowledge in the discipline. The chapter further argues a case for an emerging thesis (see empirical analyses between chapters six and eight) that proposes to advance the frontiers of the discipline in Africa. Despite Africa's gradual strides towards development (see Appendix III^{500, 542}, Okigbo, 2000: 64-65, Sachs, 2005:207), ethno-regionalism, corruption, poverty and illiteracy, epidemics, tyranny and armed conflicts, remain the stereotypical factors that constitute the 'lenses' and 'frames' that coloured the Western media's coverage of issues and events in the continent (see Appendix III^{514, 528}, Shaw, 2007: 351-371, 2009: 39-47, 2012: 105-121, Ankomah, 2001). The Western media's representation of Africa in international relations is yet to reflect the true picture of the continent (New Africa, *op.cit*: 8-14).

Therefore, the responsibility of the African press towards the rest of the World is to present a more balanced perspective of Africa (Nwokefor, 2000: 89). However, though most countries in Africa have embraced democracy and there are indications that in post-conflict African states, the media and CSOs, despite their shortcomings, have been monitoring and holding post-conflict governments accountable to their electors (see Appendix III⁵⁰⁰, January-March, 2009: 9, Macauley, 2012: 47-51, Kargbo, 190-220, Okigbo, *op.cit*: 64-65). Much is yet to be done by Western media analysts and African scholars (through empirical research) to ascertain how the media and CSOs have been instrumental in the campaign against impunity and building democratic legitimacy in the continent.

This concern should open up fruitful avenues for policy formulation through research to advance the shared-body of knowledge on the media's role in the promotion of war crimes jurisprudence and democratic legitimacy in post-conflict African states. Arguably, the gulf in the African media's literature about the media's functionality in relation to war crimes trials in particular, and post-conflict justice in general, is widened by the facts that the discipline is still

evolving and the continent's intellectual development is fraught with limited avenues for publications, paucity of professional researchers, unavailability of financial resources to fund ground-breaking studies and the dearth of the requisite logistics for research (Alozie, 2007: 214).

However, the media literature (in the Western Hemisphere) is replete with landmark publications, which have evaluated the impacts of the media (relative to multidimensional issues and events) in Western societies and promulgated conclusions that are, somewhat varied, because their methodologies were different and the environments and circumstances under which such researches were conducted are as well different (Walgrave and Van Aelst, 2006: 91). Therefore, the conclusions and recommendations of this study may either support or negate some of the existing theories in the media literature; because it has been conducted in a remote region in Africa where the media is still grappling with peculiar socio-economic, legal and political impediments, which have been rendered negligible in the Western Hemisphere, where a large chunk of the media concepts and theories were developed.

2.1 The Media and War Crimes Jurisprudence

War crimes jurisprudence is arguably an off-shoot of or an amalgam of the principles and precepts of the laws of war (otherwise known as IHL), international human rights law and international criminal law. Thus, war crimes jurisprudence is a manifestation of the judicial accountability/prosecutorial paradigm of post-conflict (transitional) justice. The principal reasons why war crimes trials are set up are well documented in the existing literature on international law. They are principally conducted to end impunity by probing into gross human rights violations committed during wars, punish those found guilty, bring justice to the victims, deter future war crimes, establish the facts to pave the way for reconciliation and uphold the rule of law (Hillier, 1999: 282-285, Cassese, 2006: 731-732, Reporting Justice, 2006: 6-9).

The media, which is increasingly becoming instrumental in the contemporary World, as a result of the dynamics of globalisation and Information and Communications Technologies (ICTs) (Straubhaar and La Rose, 1996: xviii, Croteau and Hoynes, 2006:14, Mott and Leeming, 2000:184), has popularised the ideals of war crimes jurisprudence and thus contributed to the

post-conflict justice processes that have evolved in post-conflict societies (BBC Media Action's Communicating Transitional Justice, 2007). The shared-body of knowledge of the media and war crimes jurisprudence therefore strikes a chord between the media's functionality and the clamour for credible, impartial, independent and transparent international judicial institutions that judiciously dispense international criminal justice without fear or favour, affection or ill-will, for the promotion of democratic ideals in war torn countries.

Lang (2005:7) enunciated the inevitability of the media's functionality in the promotion of war crimes jurisprudence in contemporary international law in the following startling conclusion of his groundbreaking study:

While diplomatic efforts have been the traditional alternative to coercive law enforcement, the media should not be forgotten in the fight to end impunity. With combined contributions, it is hoped that one day it will be universally understood (that) the rule of law is more powerful than the rule of the gun

Historically, the evolution of the shared-body of knowledge of the media's functionality in the quest for war crimes jurisprudence started with the media's coverage of the proceedings of the International Military Tribunal at Nuremberg (IMT) and the International Military Tribunal for Far East at Tokyo (IMTFE); following the tragic end of World War II (WW II) in 1945. The discipline's literature further evolved with the atrocities and genocides committed in the Former Yugoslavia and Rwanda; leading to the setting up of the International Criminal Tribunal for Yugoslavia (ICTY) and the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR). The literature has thus continued to grow with the determination and commitment of the international community to end impunity through the establishment of the International Criminal Court (ICC) in The Hague; and the inauguration of a plethora of hybrid courts in Sierra Leone, Cambodia, Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, East Timor and Iraq.

2.1.1 The Media and the Nuremberg Military Tribunal

The Nuremberg trials were predicated on an indictment issued by the victorious allied nations of WW II (The United States, Great Britain, France and Russia) against twenty-four (24) men and six (6) organisations, charging them with the systematic murder of millions of people and with

conspiring and carrying out WW II (Strauss, op.cit: 185, Dye, 1996: 343, Hirsh, 2003: xiii). The US Nuremberg Military Tribunal, subsequently indicted, tried and convicted some other low-ranking war criminals, bringing the Nazi era of terror and war to an end (Kaczorowska, 2003: 495-499). The Institute of War and Peace Reporting (IWPR) critically summarised the media's role in the coverage of the Nuremberg proceedings as follows:

Had journalists not covered the trials, the public would not have known about what unfolded in the Nuremberg courtroom. Without them, the shocking footage of Nazi death camps, the dramatic testimony of camp survivors, and the hundreds of thousands of documents detailing Nazi Crimes would never have made it into the public's consciousness and a crucial part of the tribunal's mission would have been left unfulfilled (Reporting Justice, op.cit: 8).

2.1.2 The Media and the Tokyo Military Tribunal

Meanwhile significant discourses about the Tokyo tribunal cannot be avoided in any academic analysis that seeks to establish the synergy between the media's functionality and the promotion of war crimes jurisprudence. However, the invaluable contributions of the said tribunal to the development of the discipline are often neglected in the war crimes literature.

Futamura (2008: 59) argued that the Tokyo trials were conducted to convince the Japanese that their leaders misled them into an extremely brutal war that resulted in the deaths of millions of Chinese, Philippines and Koreans. And that the militarists, who were the pioneers of the Japanese war machine, were to be brought to justice; just as their German accomplices. Arguably, as with the Nuremberg tribunal, that would not have been possible without the involvement of the media in that exercise. This clearly manifests the significance or the seeming inevitability of the media's role in the temporary triumph of the rule of law and judicial accountability over impunity and tyranny after WW II. Thus, although their contents were being strictly censored during the course of the trials by the victorious allied powers (ibid: 59), the Japanese media favourably covered the opening of the Tokyo tribunal and accordingly reported its entire proceedings (ibid: 69).

Analytically, some major newspapers serialised the history of the pacific war, bringing out relevant facts, supporting the arguments that the militarist Japanese Government had been hiding the truth from the nation, about how brutally the Japanese military had fought in China and the Philippines, perpetrating war crimes against the allied forces (ibid: 59). And the publications that were put out by the Japanese media were mostly based on information from the victorious allied powers. Futamura (ibid:59) even contended that the historical account which the Japanese media presented about the history of the pacific war, dovetailed with the contents of the indictments and the historical background of the conflict as depicted in the tribunal's judgment.

Thus, it is clear in framing analysis that when the media access information from very powerful sources, the information do come in with their in-built frames, which are calculated to lure audiences to absorb the 'preferred meaning', which will form the basis for the 'preferred reading', which the 'communicating source' is actually intending the 'audiences' to take (Straubhaar and La Rose, op.cit: 37, Gandy, 2001: 365). This could arguably account for the reasons why the Japanese media favourably covered the Tokyo trials and positively tilted the reportage of the proceedings in a way that reflected the position of the victorious allied powers; since it was they who supplied most of the requisite information that became the source materials for the publications.

Without alluding to agenda-setting, news selection, framing and priming, as content models of media analysis (see 4.1 and 5.1), Futamura (ibid: 69) discussed how the media, in the interest of the allied powers, represented some of the main issues that evolved from the Tokyo tribunal and judgment in these words:

The media paid little attention to Justice Pal's dissenting opinion that all the defendants were not guilty, but reported more about the tribunal's President William Web's opinion that the Emperor also had some responsibility for the war... The media also reported that many of the people on the street regarded the trial as generally fair.

Analytically, even though many of the people on the street may have regarded the trial as generally fair, that does not presuppose that the media directly swayed public opinion about

the whole trial and its outcomes, but it can be seen that through ‘news selection’ and ‘framing’, the media directed the public to pay attention to the need for the trial and the implication of the Japanese emperor into the circumstances that culminated in the atrocities perpetrated against the allied forces and the people of China and the Philippines (agenda-setting). Equally so, the question of media representation of war crimes issues in Sierra Leone is that which permeates the first and third research questions of this study (see 1.3). And the second and fourth questions (see 1.3) specifically enquire about how CSOs’ representatives received the reportage. Can it therefore be argued that the media’s coverage (the interplay between news selection and framing) of the CDF and Taylor trials in particular, may have either shaped or swayed the opinions of CSOs’ representatives across Sierra Leone? Thus, the empirical findings relating to this question will be analysed as the discourse unfolds between chapters six and nine.

2.1.3 Cold War Politics, the Media and War Crimes Jurisprudence

Notwithstanding the legacies of the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals, impunity and tyranny seemed to have temporarily triumphed over judicial accountability and war crimes jurisprudence in different parts of the globe during the cold war decades. And the cold war media was pre-occupied with the dynamics of the intellectual climate of that era, which was characterised by a political, ideological and military conflict between communist nations, led by the USSR, and Western democracies, led by the US (between 1945 and 1990). And the media was enlisted to propagandise for both sides of the political divide (White, Little and Smith, 1997: 9, Dye, op.cit: 344).

Whereas the Western media projected the ideals of democratic-capitalism and those of its allies, the Eastern media upheld the values and orientations of the socialists’ philosophy (ibid). This argument is bolstered by McQuail’s (1983), Herman’s and Chomsky’s (1988) postulations that the functionality of the media in any society is largely influenced by the socio-economic, cultural, political and ideological contexts in which it operates. The resurgence of war crimes jurisprudence in the 1990s is not unconnected with the eruption of bloody armed conflicts in ethnically divided countries- the former Yugoslavia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone and Democratic

Republic of Congo being the notable examples. Ethnicity is a fundamental issue responsible for some of the world's bloodiest conflicts; and it is still a serious problem associated with what Carruthers (2000: 198) has described as the 'New World Disorders'.

2.1.4 The Media and the ICTY and ICTR

There is evidence in the shared-body of knowledge that it was the media that first directed the attention of the international community to hold war criminals in the former Yugoslavia accountable for war crimes (Futamura, op.cit: 26) in an era in which ethno-regionalism/nationalism was the fundamental factor that propelled most of the World's deadliest conflicts (White, little and Smith, op.cit: 4, Ryan, 1997: 157-174). This argument is authenticated by the fact that, Mirko Klarin of the Borba newspaper is credited as the first journalist, who in May, 1991 called for a new 'Nuremberg Court' to try war criminals during the Balkans' conflict (Futamura, op.cit:26). Moreover, the argument is bolstered by Strauss (op.cit: 185), in his analysis on the media's role in the setting up of the ICTY:

In August 1992, television began to display images of Muslims in Bosnia in newly built Serbian concentration camps. Alarmed by this and other evidence of Serbian 'ethnic cleansing', the United Nations created a War Crimes Tribunal; the first such tribunal since Nuremberg.

On this issue Holbrooke (1999: 20) noted that:

'Let us be clear: the reason the West finally, belatedly intervened was heavily related to media coverage'.

Thus, there can be a nexus between media coverage and political/diplomatic reactions by the international community to the plights of suffering masses (Hoijer, op.cit: 313-531, Hopkinson, op.cit: 11, Owen, op.cit: 308, Wolfsfeld, op.cit:207-208, Ryan, op.cit: 165). Hence, the media's portrayal of the atrocities in the then Yugoslavia and its allusions to the Nuremberg legacy, to hold war criminals responsible in the former Yugoslavia contributed to the setting up of the ICTY. And the media was as well involved in the coverage of the ICTY proceedings, leading to the tribunal's convictions:

‘The International War Crimes Tribunal on Friday sentenced a Bosnian Croat, who admitted to taking part in the massacre of 1,200 unarmed Bosnian Muslims last year, to 10 years in prison.’⁴

Thus, the principal legacies of the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals revolved around ending impunity, promoting human rights and dignity and upholding justice, through individual criminal responsibility, by criminalising the act of conspiracy to wage wars of aggression, crimes against peace, war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity (Donnelly, 2003: 253, Cassese, *ibid*: 720, Kaczorowska, *op.cit*: 495, Hillier, *ibid*: 283, Reporting Justice, *op.cit*:8-10). However, the replication of the Nuremburg legacy on the Tokyo tribunal was probably less problematic because the Tokyo trial shared so many things in common with the Nuremberg tribunal. For instance, both were military tribunals; they both subjected the pioneers of the same conflict (WW II) to military justice; and they both took place in an international context. However, the horrendous wars that disintegrated the former Yugoslavia into seven distinct political entities (Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Serbia, Kosovo, Montenegro and Macedonia), and the genocides in Bosnia and Rwanda in particular were not unconnected with ‘ethnic cleansing’. And both wars took place in a domestic context.

Thus, the circumstances that led to the setting up of both the ICTY and ICTR were altogether different from those that culminated in the establishment of the Nuremberg and Tokyo tribunals. Therefore, to what extent has the application of the Nuremberg and Tokyo legacies to the two unparalleled circumstances in Europe (the former Yugoslavia) and Africa (Rwanda) impacted post-conflict social transformation and reconciliation in the said ethnically divided societies? How has the media represented the main issues that evolved from the ICTY and ICTR? What has been the media’s role on attitudes towards post-conflict justice, social transformation and reconciliation in the ‘political entities’ that emerged from the former Yugoslavia? What has also been the media’s role on attitudes towards post-conflict justice in Rwanda?

⁴ November 29, 1996, The Hague, Netherlands- CNN

Thus, there is also evidence in the existing literature that suggests that the media in the former Yugoslavia (particularly Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and Kosovo) overwhelmingly supported the establishment of the ICTY and devoted more time and space in the coverage of the proceedings of the tribunal (Volcic and Dzihana, 2011: 8-13). The ICTY has undoubtedly advanced the frontiers of war crimes jurisprudence, but what about the tribunal's contributions to the politics, internal dynamics and peace and reconciliation processes of the ethnically divided societies that emerged from the former state? Apart from the facts that the tribunal turned out to be expensive and has further deepened the political divide; it has also been criticised as a political court that set out to unjustly target the Serbs (Markovic and Subasic, 2011:108-109). Meanwhile, Merwe and Weinstein (2010: 3) have analysed the post-conflict situations in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and have argued in line with Nettelfield (ibid) that 'ethnic differences' have indeed influenced the perceptions of Bosnian Serbs and Bosnian Croats on different aspects of the ICTY. They have also argued that the media has also continued to play a crucial role in influencing post-conflict attitudes in the political entities of the former state.

Comparatively, if the media could play such a role in the conflict-afflicted political entities of the former Yugoslavia, has the local media in Sierra Leone been also playing a crucial role in influencing post-conflict attitudes in Sierra Leone? This is the principal thrust of the fifth research question of this study, which will be critically analysed in chapter eight. Essentially, two significant issues have emerged from the above analyses that are cognate with this study. The first is related to issues of ethno-regionalism and post-conflict justice and reconciliation and the second revolves around how ethno-regionalism influenced the media's coverage of the ICTY.

Both issues thus became the principal thrust for the first substantive study (the Sarajevo research) of media and war crimes jurisprudence outside Africa, since the dawn of the new millennium. The Sarajevo research and its indisputable contribution to the literature and its relevance to this study are incisively analysed in 2.2. However, the media's role in the conflictual and political transformations of Rwanda, leading to the establishment of the ICTR, is also clearly documented. Scholars of conflict analysis have tended to focus on the media's conflictual as opposed to its functional perspective in relation to the Rwandan debacle.

However, I shall seek to analyse the conflictual perspective of the media in the next chapter, dealing with the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of this study.

Meanwhile, the story of the first three years of the 1993 Arusha Accord for Rwanda was scarcely covered in the Anglophone press, even though it received regular attention from the BBC World Service radio and TV. The French and Belgian media paid more attention to the said issue because of their colonial and linguistic ties with Rwanda (Hilsum, 2007: 170). Moreover, the circumstances that led to the deaths of over eight hundred thousand (800,000) Tutsis and moderate Hutus (the Rwanda genocide), were not given the much needed attention by the international media in its intermittent coverage of the Rwandan debacle (Dallaire, 2007: 12, Shaw, 2007: 351-371).

Nevertheless, whereas the local media undoubtedly played a role in the Rwanda genocide (see 3.5); the international media was said to have abandoned Rwanda in times of need (ibid), but there is also evidence that Western journalists made frantic efforts to cover the genocide, but the circumstances that prevailed in Rwanda at the time could not have permitted them to do so.

It was a story we wanted to tell but it was appallingly dangerous...Mark Doyle was in Kigali foremost of April and May reporting for the BBC. His reports indicating the progress of the RPF advance and the scale of the civilian slaughter by government forces were frequently broadcast on the BBC World Service. When another BBC reporter, Fergal Keane, was stopped at a checkpoint in late May, the machete-wielding thugs manning it said that if they ever saw Doyle they would kill him (Hilsum, op.cit: 172).

The media played an active role in the call for war crimes trials in Rwanda as it did in the former Yugoslavia; it portrayed the repercussions of the genocide and then opened the eyes of the international community to the plights of Rwanda (Ammon, 2001: 117-118, Robinson, 2001: 529). The media also extensively covered the refugee crisis in Goma (Democratic Republic of Congo) and simultaneously followed the debates leading to the setting up of the ICTR, its proceedings and convictions of war crimes perpetrators and the post-conflict democratic processes that emerged in Rwanda (Thompson, 2007: XII). Unlike the literature on media

coverage and ethno-regionalism in the former Yugoslav states, which is the basis for the shared-body of knowledge in the field; issues about ethno-political considerations in the media's coverage of the war crimes trials of the ICTR are still under-explored.

Nevertheless, the ICTR epitomised Africa's first international criminal tribunal. It indicted and convicted even local journalists for war crimes related offences (See ICTR Media Trial Judgment in Thompson, op.cit:277-307). Thus, a New York Times editorial heralded the verdicts as 'rightly decided', 'welcome', 'pos{ing} no threat to journalistic free speech' and 'demonstrate{ing} that the international community will demand justice for those who committed crimes against all humanity' (Monasebian, 2007: 305). The ICTR also upheld the notion of individual criminal responsibility (CDF Trial Judgment, op.cit:72) and simultaneously promoted the doctrine of war crimes jurisprudence which:

'has had a slow but steady normative impact on international relations by reinforcing a norm of accountability for serious violations of international humanitarian law and the principles of universal jurisdiction over such crimes' (Futamura, op.cit: 2).

Nevertheless, despite the resounding laurels of the ICTR, the media has also been critical of its challenges. Thus, the Christian Science Monitor (Thursday, 5th July, 2007) accused the ICTR of strongly polarising Rwandan politics and of largely unaccountable to either the survivors of the Rwandan Genocide or anyone else. It is also said to be selective in its choice of cases, expensive and disconnected both geographically and conceptually, from the primary stakeholders whom it sought to serve (ibid).

2.2 Advancing the Frontiers of Media and War Crimes Jurisprudence

It has already been established that the evolution of war crimes jurisprudence is not unconnected with the functionality of the media. Thus, the role of the media in the dissemination of 'news' and 'views' about the dynamics of most of the war crimes trials that have so far been conducted cannot be overemphasised. Ethno-regionalism is arguably the stereotypical factor that has largely influenced and/or fuelled most of the conflicts in Africa (Mehler, 2007: 208, Chazan, Mortimer, Ravenhill, Rothchild, 1992: 105, For Di People, 7th February, 2005:7, New Vision, Thursday, 29th August, 2013). Of the plethora of conflicts that

brought untold sufferings to Africans and the continent, it was only in Rwanda and Sierra Leone that war crimes tribunals were held to punish perpetrators. And it is an indisputable fact that both Rwanda and Sierra Leone are ethnically divided countries (Caplan, 2007: 20-37, Hirsch, op.cit: 24-25, Penfold, op.cit: 25). For Rwanda it is clear in the existing literature that the infamous 1994 genocide was largely precipitated by ethnicity (Caplan, *ibid*). And the local media undoubtedly played an active role in fuelling the genocide that led to the setting up of the ICTR (Kabanda, 2007: 62-70, Kimani, 2007: 110-124, Carruthers, op.cit: 50).

What is not however in the shared-body of knowledge about the Rwandan experience is whether the local media's coverage of the ICTR was characterised by such ethno-political considerations that can aptly be described as 'a continuation of war by other means' (Markovic and Subasic, op.cit: 81). Thus, there is virtually the need for thorough explorations of the extent (if at all) to which ethno-political considerations influenced the local media's coverage of the war crimes trials in Rwanda and the attitudes towards the post-conflict justice process. However, this study does not specifically deal with the media and the war crimes trials of the ICTR held in Arusha, Tanzania.

So the proposed explorations on the Rwandan experience cannot be done in this study. Probably, other researchers may be tempted to explore this void in the literature about media coverage of war crimes in Rwanda in the near future. Unlike Rwanda, the Sierra Leone experience is a bit different. Though the country experienced a protracted armed conflict, the offence of genocide was never committed. Moreover, the existing literature has not pointed to any mono-causal factor of the conflict. What is clear in the shared-body of knowledge is that the war in Sierra Leone was caused and ignited by a plethora of internal and external forces- bad governance, corruption, mismanagement of natural resources, mercenary corporatism, injustice, militarism, disrespect for democratic values, ethno-regionalism etc. (Zack-Williams, 2012:3-30, Penfold, 2012:5, Berewa, 2011: 105-115, Kargbo, 2011:111-114, Kargbo, 2010:122-123, Richards 2005, Gberie, 2005: 70-96, Abdullah, 1997& 2004, Rashid 2004, The TRC Report, Volume I, 2004:10, Strauss, 2002: 93, Bundu, 2001:51, Hirsch, 2001:13-71, Francis, 107-120, Alie 2000).

However, ethno-regionalism is thus a fundamental factor that fuelled and prolonged Sierra Leone's devastating war. This came out clearly in the country's Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Report:

The link between ethnicity and the conflict lies in the way in which certain factions turned ethnicity into an instrument of prejudice and violence against perceived opponents or those who did not 'belong'. People of Northern origin were found to have been targeted in the Southern and Eastern regions during the latter part of the war. The Kamajors committed disproportionate levels of violations against such ethnic groups as the T (h)emne, Koranko, Loko, Limba and Yalunka...(Volume II, 2004: 11).

Analytically, just as with the Nuremberg, Tokyo, the former Yugoslavia and the Rwanda experiences, the media and CSOs were very much involved in the post-conflict justice process that evolved in Sierra Leone (see 1.1). However, different media institutions and CSOs in Sierra Leone took different positions in the political debates and ideological struggle about the relevance of the SCSL in the clamour for post-conflict justice. There were those that supported the prosecutions of the then indictees (now convicts) of the various warring factions. There were also those who lent credence to the trials of some indictees belonging to specific warring factions, but frowned at the trials of others.

And there were those who never supported any of the four trials, but lent overwhelming preference to the reconciliatory approach to post-conflict justice in Sierra Leone. These contradictory permutations therefore raise some fundamental and pertinent questions that worth a thorough analysis of how the media covered the trials and which impacts it contents have had on CSOs' representatives in Sierra Leone. Did those media institutions and CSOs that support the trials of the convicts genuinely did so in the name of human rights, individual criminal responsibility, international justice, democratic legitimacy and the need to end impunity in Sierra Leone? Or did they come under the guise of these concepts to encumber their prejudices against a set of convicts, whom they wanted to see behind bars forever? If that was the case, could their prejudices have been driven by ethno-regional and political

considerations, considering how ethno-regionalism has permeated Sierra Leone's party politics?

Why did some sections of the media and CSOs lend credence to the trials of some convicts in some of the warring factions, but opposed the trials of others? Was that not a manifestation of their endorsement of a form of 'selective justice' that contravenes the ideals of war crimes jurisprudence? Why did some sections of the media and CSOs choose to oppose the setting up of the SCSL, but lauded the efficacy of the reconciliatory approach? These questions are fundamental to this study and they are clearly interconnected with all the five research questions, which are to be answered between chapters six and nine. Interestingly, this study is not unconnected with the dialectics of communications media effects research, from which a plethora of content and response models of media analysis (see analyses in 4.1, 4.2 and 5.1) has evolved to gauge media impacts at both the psychological (micro or individual) and sociological (macro or societal) levels.

However, despite the plethora of landmark communications research on media impacts (Iyengar, 2010: 273-286, Cohen, 1963, McCombs and Shaw, 1972: 173-187, de Vreese, 2005: 51-60, Gilboa, 2005: 27-40, Walgrave & Van Aelst, 2006: 88-105, Entman, 1993:51-58 & 2007: 163-173, Scheufele, 2000:297-316, McCombs, 2004 & 2005: 543-557, McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar & Rey, 1997: 703-717 etc.), there has been little academic work on the African media's reporting of post-conflict justice issues, including war crimes, and its impact on the wider society. Essentially, there are arguably five main studies (two of which have already been alluded to above) in the existing literature that are cognate with this study. The first is Lang's (2005) groundbreaking study on the media's coverage of Charles Taylor's indictment. The second is Lincoln's (2008) generic study on the media's reportage of SCSL. The third and fourth studies are Shaw's (2009 and 2012) framing analysis of Sierra Leone's civil war and that on human rights journalism. The fifth is the Sarajevo work (2011) on media analysis of the war crimes trials in the former Yugoslavia.

Thus, to lucidly present a case for this study, I shall juxtapose each of the above studies with my research questions, pointing out the convergences and divergences of my study in line with

each of the said studies, and then state how I intend to advance the frontiers of the discipline with the empirical findings analysed between chapters six and nine. Lang's work was done after David Crane, SCSL's first Prosecutor, unsealed Taylor's indictment, when he was still the President of Liberia. The principal thrust of his study was to establish the critical role that 'the international media' played in shaping the events that led to Taylor's arrest. In his analysis, Lang (op.cit: 1) took the position of the critic, regarding the debate about the neutrality of the media in the production of 'news' relating to issues and events that affect society (see 4.1). He argued that:

The press has not merely served as neutral medium through which information about the indictment is expressed to the public, but rather has been used by the Prosecutor, Charles Taylor, and others to shift government policies to their purpose.

Lang (op.cit: 7) without alluding to agenda-setting, news selection, framing and priming, as content models of media analysis (see 4.1), justified his position with an analysis of how the media paid attention to, and made prominence (agenda-setting) a number of specific issues (news selection), which were negatively tilted against Taylor and presented (framing) to the international community for Taylor to be viewed as a war criminal (priming), even before he was arrested, tried and convicted.

In explicating this, Lang surveyed the international scene during key moments of the campaign to bring Taylor to justice and discussed the contributions the media made towards the SCSL's mission (ibid: 3-7) under the following headings: 'The Fall of Charles Taylor' (p.3), 'Political Efforts for Taylor's Transfer' (p.3), 'Mobilising the International Community' (p.5), 'The African Community' (p.6) and 'Conclusion' (p.7). The trend of thought that is immediately discernible in the above sub-headings is that the Western media was accordingly used as a conduit to challenge the position which ECOWAS had taken to get Taylor out of Liberia in the name of regional peace and security, in exchange for his safety and political asylum in Nigeria. Lang (p.1-7) also established how the Western media made the Resolutions of both 'the European Union Parliament' and 'the United States Congress' salient in its call to extradite Taylor to the SCSL,

whilst alluding to 'Taylor's alleged Al Qaeda connection'. Lang (op.cit: 7) concluded his study by stating that:

The press is an extremely versatile tool that can be used to sway public opinion, influence political leaders, and create awareness on a topic. In addition, by evaluating the amount of coverage of an issue and the content of the reports, people are able to obtain a better understanding of what matters, and how to deal with the press accordingly so... While diplomatic efforts have been the traditional alternative to coercive law enforcement, the media should not be forgotten in the fight to end impunity...

Meanwhile, it can hardly be disputed that Lang's work has not contributed to the shared-body of knowledge of media and war crimes jurisprudence; as it clearly points to how the international (Western) media may have shaped the decision that eventually led to Taylor's extradition to the SCSL. However, his study has some notable limitations. First, Lang only studied the international media's coverage, using a form of content analysis, devoid of either framing or discourse analysis. According to Entman (op.cit: 57), any content analysis that is unguided by a framing paradigm can produce data that misrepresent the media's messages that most audience members can pick up. Second, the study did not gauge how CSOs' representatives in Sierra Leone for example, received the international media's coverage of Taylor's indictment. Third, the study did not cover the periods leading to Taylor's arrest and repatriation to Liberia, extradition to the SCSL, trial and eventual conviction and sentence.

The media (local and international) arguably paid serious attention to the Taylor trial until it was brought to a close with the eventual conviction and sentence of Taylor. Significantly, these are all researchable issues to further understand the media's role in advancing the shared-body of knowledge in the discipline. Therefore, notwithstanding the contributions of Lang's groundbreaking study to media and war crimes jurisprudence, there is need for this study as well. Research questions two (2) and four(4) are in tandem with media coverage of the Taylor trial, for which there is already a shared-body of knowledge in the existing literature advanced by Lang, but what is advanced *inter alia* relates to only 'the international media'.

In other words, Lang conscientiously restricted his study to an analysis of 'the international media's coverage of the main issues and events that evolved in the international community relating to only Taylor's indictment. However, the said research questions (2 and 4) specifically deal with 'selected local media' coverage of Taylor's indictment, its impact on international relations, ECOWAS's role in the whole episode, Western influence, Taylor's arrest and extradition to the SCSL, his trial, eventual conviction and sentence. Meanwhile, it is clear that this study is comparatively broader in scope than that of Lang. And whereas Lang conscientiously dealt with the 'international media', this study focuses on 'the local media'.

Further, this study gauges the responses of CSOs' representatives to the local media's coverage of the Taylor trial, the limb that is conspicuously absent in Lang's work. Moreover, this study adopts a plethora of models of media analysis (see 4.1 and 4.2) and among others, employs 'framing' and 'discourse analyses' as clearly define methodological frameworks (see 5.1) to accordingly guide its findings to meet the threshold of validity and reliability in communications research methodology (Treadwell, 2011: 78-83). Thus, the divergences between Lang's work and this study, regarding research questions 2 and 4, clearly point to some salient researchable issues that are not in the existing literature. This can partially account for the need to further explore the media's functionality in promoting the ideals of war crimes jurisprudence and building post-conflict democratic legitimacy in Sierra Leone.

This leads me to the other research which is also germane to this study. And that is Lincoln's work.⁵ Lincoln (2008: 1) acknowledged the significance of the media in promoting war crimes jurisprudence and stressed the role, which the media played in complementing the efforts of the Outreach Section in the dissemination of information about the SCSL to audiences. Lincoln (ibid: 1) strongly argued that even though the media could play an important role in raising awareness about war crimes issues, the SCSL faced a hostile domestic press, which regularly pointed to allegations of unfair trials and ill treatments of detainees. She focused her (twenty-one pages) study on the nature and extent of such coverage and proposed to assess the relationship between press reports and attitudes and beliefs to determine its impact relative to

⁵ Done on behalf of the United States Institute of Peace Programme on the Rule of Law in African Countries Emerging from Violent Conflict and the War Crimes Research Group, Department of War Studies, King's College, London in February, 2000

the outreach program. Thus, in relation to the debate about the media's neutrality in the production of news on issues and events that affects society (see 4.1), she also toed the line of the critics and posited in her conclusion in page 20 as follows:

‘As most of these outlets are independently owned there can be a tendency towards bias in much of the reporting as well’.

Lincoln (ibid: 1-8) thoroughly explored the landscape of the media, and referenced her arguments about the hostility of the local media's coverage of the operations of the court with information from virtually all the newspapers that were regularly published in Sierra Leone up to 2008 (ibid: 11-20). Thus, her study encompassed the local media's reportage of some of the main critical issues that permeated the AFRC, RUF and CDF trials; with intermittent references to the arrest and indictment of Taylor. Lincoln's study is now part of the shared-body of knowledge. Further, though her work has its own limitations, it encapsulated some salient issues that could serve as pointers to the directions of further research. However, a number of issues can be raised with her study that would serve as justifications for my research into war crimes issues in Sierra Leone.

Whilst her study is quite eclectic touching on issues of outreach, legacy and impact of the Special Court with specific emphasis of virtually all of Sierra Leone's newspapers coverage of some controversial issues relative to the three trials (AFRC, RUF and CDF), held in Freetown, Sierra Leone; my study is specifically designed to evaluate the coverage of selected local newspapers of the CDF and Taylor trials relative to CSOs' representatives' responses, with the aims of finding out how the coverage was done and what impact it may have had on elite post-conflict opinions in Sierra Leone. In other words, my research seeks to explore whether the coverage of the said trials 'was a continuation of war by other means' and whether the media in the process contributed in shaping elite's attitudes towards post-conflict justice and strengthening good governance and democratic accountability in Sierra Leone (see research questions in 1.3).

Furthermore, the basis for the 'selection' of the issues captured in Lincoln's work and the period for which the study was conducted is neither highlighted nor articulated. Neither the

sample frame, nor the sample size is either stated or any reason (s) given for the choice of the 'numerous newspapers' chosen for the study. As such, the study does not seem to have a clearly outlined methodological frameworks and it is hard to discern from her conclusion, the tendency of 'bias' (ibid: 20) on the part of the local media in the coverage of the issues and events, she dealt with. Also, she could not pinpoint the specific media that were 'biased' in their reportage.

Thus, Entman's (2007:165-166) conceptual criteria for 'bias' is seen in the argument that the pattern of news slant must skew persistently 'across time, 'message dimensions' and 'media outlets' in favour of one side of the political debate, but neither this nor any standard criteria for assessing 'bias' in media coverage is discernible in her study. Though she highlighted how the issues were reported (ibid: 11-20), the reasons for the 'biased' coverage were also neither highlighted nor articulated. The form of content analysis she adopted is as well devoid of either framing or discourse analysis, pointing again to the Entman's (1993:57) concern about the need for a sound and 'unbiased' content analysis to be informed by framing.⁶

Significantly, any study that seeks to gauge media impact must establish the theoretical nexus between the content and response models of media analysis (see 4.1 and 4.2) and how they are to be contextualised for purposes of that study; with clearly articulated and appropriately chosen methodological frameworks, encompassing the study's sample frame and size, that lead to the empirical analysis and conclusion that should meet the threshold of validity and reliability (Treadwell, op.cit: 78-83, McCall, 1998: 311-330, Gravetter and Wallnau, 1999:34). Unlike Lincoln's work, which was not set out consonant with the above empirical research procedure, my study is accordingly guided by the said procedure to come up with empirical findings that should meet the threshold of validity and reliability.

Moreover, in assessing the relationship between press coverage and post-conflict attitudes and beliefs to determine its impact relative to the outreach program, Lincoln (ibid: 20) had this to say:

⁶ See review of Lang's work above.

It is difficult to gauge the coverage of newspapers and radio reports as listeners and readership figures do not exist. Interviews and discussions highlight that many of these big issues are still being raised by ordinary Sierra Leoneans, indicating that news coverage is influencing public opinion to a degree.

Again, Lincoln (ibid: 21) raised this other pertinent issue in the last paragraph of her study:

Nevertheless, although the unreliability of the local press appears to be a challenge to the court, it does not appear to have caused significant damage to perceptions outside of the Court about its work. The challenge of the Court is sustaining this debate with consistent, clear and reliable information to avoid the continuation of rumour becoming well established fact.

Both quotations contain two salient issues that are worth further explorations. First, is the difficulty which Lincoln faced in gauging public opinion in Sierra Leone, because of the unavailability of any reliable statistics of listeners and readers to test the impact of media coverage, but she concluded that media coverage can influence public opinion to a degree. This raises the question of how then can 'media impact' be reliably gauged in Sierra Leone where no credible statistics of listeners and readers exists? Significantly, I have chosen to test 'media impact' by taking representatives of CSOs as a barometer for 'part of elite opinion', which this study seeks to gauge.

Thus, in the context of Sub-Saharan Africa, where there are few reliable measurements of public opinion through 'polling', civil society is a useful surrogate for testing social attitudes (Macauley, 2012). This has aided my study to determine how media coverage has influenced part of elite's post-conflict opinions in Sierra Leone. Second, the finding that the 'unreliability' of the local media's coverage of the SCSL seemed not to have negatively affected people's perceptions about the court, but has only posed a challenge to the court to use its outreach program to set the records straight, is another issue that should be further explored. This is simply because the International Centre for Transitional Justice (ICTJ) has established that an

essential feature of a credible transitional justice system is the presence of credible media that reports without overt bias (Communicating Transitional Justice, 2007: 10).

Essentially, a comparative analysis of Lincoln's finding and that of the ICTJ, can raise the question of whether the presence of an unreliable media (that report with overt bias) can still play an important role on attitudes towards post-conflict justice and strengthening democratic legitimacy in Sierra Leone. Interestingly, this issue is germane to research question five (5) of this study (see 1.3). I now turn to the next study, which is Shaw's (2009: 39) unique work on the framing analysis of Sierra Leone's civil war and its implications for peace Journalism and global Justice. In this study, Shaw (ibid: 39) explored the debate based on a multidimensional exploratory discourse analysis over the framing of 'their' problem and not 'ours' in the context of the Sierra Leone civil war, between 1996 and 2001.

He analysed the 'us' only and 'us' + 'them' frames in the context of the 'empathy/distance' and empathy/critical frames, and stated that the turning of the back of the international community (led by Britain) on Sierra Leone, was informed more by historical/empathy distance frames than empathy/critical frames in the mainstream Western media discourse. Shaw (ibid: 42-46) interviewed four Western journalists,⁷ who covered the Sierra Leone civil war to strengthen the thesis that, historical frames (stereotypical representations) in news discourse can skew the way distance wars are perceived, which can have serious implications for international humanitarian intervention within a cosmopolitan context.

Moreover, this is a thesis which Shaw (2007: 351) had advanced on the delayed intervention or non-intervention in the humanitarian crises in Ethiopia, Somalia and Rwanda, confirming the extent to which historical frames reinforced the elite-dominated news frames of 'their crisis' and not 'ours', and how that stereotypical representation accounted for the delayed or non-intervention to end the crises in the said countries. Thus, Shaw (op.cit: 46) concluded the study with the extent to which the historical empathy/distance frames inhibited the realisation of the ideals of peace journalism and global justice in the coverage of the Sierra Leone conflict. As seen from the above analysis, Shaw's work restricted itself to the international media's

⁷Alex Duval Smith- the Independent, Sam Kiley- the Times, Anton La Guardia- the Dailey Telegraph and Steve Coll- the Washington Post

coverage of Sierra Leone's decade long civil war and how the nuances in the wording and syntax (Scheufele, 2000: 309) adopted in the framing of the issues and events by the Western media, negatively impacted Western intervention into the crisis and the clamour for peace in Sierra Leone.

This undoubtedly points to the fact that Shaw's 2009 work (though predicated upon clearly articulated and appropriately chosen theoretical and methodological frameworks), did not encompass the media's role in the coverage of the post-conflict justice mechanisms, which were inaugurated to facilitate the socio-economic, legal and political transformation processes, that emerged for the promotion of good governance and democratic accountability in post-conflict Sierra Leone; which is indeed the foundation upon which my study is predicated. Essentially, whilst Shaw's work critically analyses the historical perspective which the international media brought to its reporting of the conflict in Sierra Leone and how that negatively impacted the quest for humanitarian intervention and global justice within the context of human rights, my research however, looks through the 'other end of the telescope', by examining the impact on society of the media's reporting of the CDF and Taylor trials.

Shaw's conception of human rights journalism (2012 : 25-42) - as distinct from what he conceptualised as human wrong journalism - is based on the need to expose 'human rights abuses'; including the violations of political, economic, social and cultural rights; the need to 'protect free speech' (upon which other human rights are predicated); and the 'responsibility to report' (a normative journalistic practice - a rights based journalism - based on the respect for human dignity, irrespective of colour, nationality, race, gender, geographical dignity and so on). Meanwhile, it is the last of the three limbs upon which Shaw's thesis of journalism of the human race and for the human race is predicated.

At a generic level, however, it can be argued that war crimes trials are conducted to uphold the ideals of human rights and to punish perpetrators for gross human rights violations, including war crimes, crimes against humanity and genocide, which are the most heinous of crimes in international criminal law (Cassese, op.cit: 727-723). Thus, when the media assumes the responsibility to report war crimes issues that is in itself a manifestation of all the three limbs of

Shaw's human rights journalism- the need to expose human rights violations, the need to protect freedom of expression and other fundamental human rights and the responsibility to report such human rights issues.

Essentially, therefore, it can be generically argued that my proposed thesis is an extension of Shaw's human rights journalism, which was itself an extension of Allan Thompson's 'responsibility to report'- the new journalistic paradigm, proposed in 2007. Thompson's responsibility to report (the new journalistic paradigm) was proposed after an in depth study of the local media's role in the 1994 Rwanda genocide and the international media's neglect to report (principally because of the Galtung and Ruge's 'geographical proximity' and 'cultural determinism' news selection paradigm-see 4.1) the gross human rights violations perpetrated against the Tutsis and moderate Hutus in Rwanda, leading to the genocide between April and July, 1994.

Thompson (2007: 433-444), in a bid to challenge the said 'news selection' paradigm, studied 'the responsibility to protect' as the profound legal concept that has rendered the notions of sovereignty and non-intervention into the internal affairs of independent sovereign states negligible in contemporary international law and drew an analogy of the said legal concept with the journalists' responsibility to report any humanitarian issues (crises or conflicts) that affect the survival of the human race, irrespective of where they are happening (ibid: 434).

From the analogy, Thompson proposed 'the responsibility to report' as an alternative to the Galtung and Ruge's paradigm and called it 'a new journalistic paradigm'. Arguably, Shaw's 'human rights journalism' thesis has principally developed Thompson's proposition for 'a new journalistic paradigm' into a coherent theoretical and conceptual framework to guide communications media research on human rights and by extension war crimes jurisprudence. Thus, I have adopted both Thompson's 'responsibility to report' (the new journalistic paradigm) and Shaw's human rights journalism' as one comprehensive content model of media analysis (see 4.1) in analysing the media's coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials. I now turn to the Sarajevo work, which critically analyses the media's coverage of the legacy of conflict in another continent (Europe). The study was done by a host of scholars whose contributions to

the shared-body of knowledge in the discipline are embedded in the 2011 report of the Sarajevo Media Centre (SMC) on media analysis of the war crimes trials in the former Yugoslavia'(eds. Dzihana A. and Volcic Z.).

The study examined what the authors termed 'ethno-national ideology', and its impact on the way the media represented social reality in the seven distinct political entities that emerged from the former Yugoslavia, using framing (the 'us' and 'them' frames) and discourse analyses. As stated earlier (see 1.1) their conclusion that media coverage was 'a continuation of war by other means' provides a useful model for my study. The authors argue that: 'it is crucial to explore how the war crimes trials are represented in the media and how the *trauma* (my italics) they represent has been incorporated into the public memory' (ibid: 10). This is thus a guiding sentiment of my study, though I call the 'ideology' 'ethno-regional', reflecting the distinctive paradigm of Sierra Leone.

Chapter Three

Theoretical and Conceptual Frameworks

3.0 Introduction

This chapter deals with theoretical frameworks and essentially attempts to define and critically examine the concepts of media, civil society and transitional justice (TJ), within the context of Sierra Leone's post-conflict governance. Media, civil society and TJ, are the most important concepts that are discernible from the study's aims and objectives, research questions and literature review. Thus, it is important to discern how the said concepts are inextricably linked to the study. To accomplish this task, I have divided the chapter into two (2) distinct, but interrelated parts. The first part separately defines and deals with some salient issues and perspectives of media, civil society and TJ. The TJ section, explores the circumstances that led to the establishment of both the SCSL and the TRC, making Sierra Leone the only post-conflict country in the World to simultaneously institutionalise both the judicial accountability and reconciliatory approaches to TJ in resolving the same conflict. The final part explores how the three concepts (media, civil society and TJ) are theoretically interconnected.

3.1 The Media

This study seeks to gauge the impact of the local media's coverage on CSOs' representatives in Sierra Leone's quest for post-conflict justice and adopts the stimulus-response theorization, which aims for 'objectivity' in social science research (Treadwell, 2011:14, McCall, 1998: 313). Essentially, the relevance of the stimulus-response theorisation (Martin, Carlson and Buskist, 2007: 266-268, Powell, Symbaluk and MacDonald, 2005: 1-5) and how it has aided the processes leading to how the research questions are answered are accordingly explicated in 4.1 dealing with models of media analysis. Meanwhile, two other controversial issues which have attracted lots of media theorisation are discernible from the analysis of the study's research questions. The first is linked to how mediated contents are produced by the news media (Watson, 2003: 120-145), and the second is germane to how mediated contents are consumed in a heterogeneous society (Haralambos and Holborn, 2004:

843-861). This second issue is important because Sierra Leone is a multi-ethnic⁸ post-conflict heterogeneous society in which news consumption could either 'reinforce' or 'challenge' the pre-existing biases of audiences (Baran, 2002:405) largely because of ethno-regional and political considerations. Analytically, from the above theorisation of news production and consumption, it is discernible that a plethora of theories can thus influence the production and consumption of mediated contents (Watson, op.cit: 120). This study has therefore 'contextualised' a number of theories regarding the production and consumption of the mediated contents, which the media published in its coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials in particular and TJ in general.

I will start with the theorisations on gate-keeping. The underpinning presupposition of the gate-keeping theorisation is that the mainstream or conventional media has been the sole gate-keeper to the information flow in society (Watson, op.cit: 127-129, Straubhaar and LaRose, op.cit: 31). However, the advent of the new media has evidentially challenged the validity of gate-keeping as a content theory of media analysis, leading to the development of the concept of citizen journalism through social media like Twitter, You Tube, Face book to name but three. Fundamentally, ICTs' effect on the new media is simply that they can now aid any person to produce news; though such news contents do not go through rigorous journalistic processing, and may therefore be deficient of the values of accuracy and balance, fairness and impartiality, which are arguably the conventional standards of media ethics shared by most renowned news organisations across the globe (Biagi, 2003: 303-308, Smith, 2008: 10).

This trend of news production in the modern World has made it possible to question whether the conventional (mainstream) media is still the sole gate-keeper to the information flow in society. Thus, it is now apparent that even media outlets are worried about the potential disruptive effects of social media on business models (Newman, *ibid*: 5-6). What about the situation in Africa, in which quite a good number of Africans in rural communities do not have access to ICTs, especially computers? Can it therefore be argued that the theory is still useful in

⁸ There are seventeen ethnic groups in the country. These groups have been divided into three-language categories – Mende, Mel and others. The Mende, Vai/Gallinas, Kono, Loko, Koranko, Soso, Yalunka and Madingo belong to the Mende. The Themne, Bullom/Sherbro, Kissi, Gola, and Krim form part of the Mel group. The others are Limba, Fula, Krio and Kru. The two largest communities are the Mende and Themne, each accounting for about 31 percent of the population. Krio, the language of the Creoles is the lingua franca whilst English is the official language- Alie, 1994: 9

analysing media contents within the African context? It is contended that in Africa, the validity of the gate-keeping concept is yet to be challenged, because the impact of social media on the continent's media landscape is not as influential and pervasive as it is in the developed World. However, this contention has been incisively contradicted by Megenta's work on the impact of social media on democracy in Africa (Megenta, op.cit: 4). Thus, it can be argued in the light of Megenta's empirical findings that even in Africa the conventional (mainstream) media cannot be said to be the sole gate-keeper to the information flow in society. Megenta's point is validated to a large extent by the meteoric rise in the availability (ownership) of sophisticated 'mobile phones', especially among the youths and young adults, who form a large segment of the continent's population, which makes the sourcing and flow of news materials easily accessible.

Inferentially, if the conventional media is no longer the sole gate-keeper to the information flow in society, how influential is it in shaping elites' post-conflict opinions and building democratic legitimacy in contemporary Sierra Leone? The principal conceptual thrust of this question is thoroughly explored in 3.1.2. The other content theory which is essential in analysing media contents which turns out to be very useful for this study is news selection otherwise known as news values or news worthiness. Theorisations on news selection are anchored by the fact that because of time and space, it is virtually impossible for the media to publish all the contents that come in for publication on a daily basis.

Editors are thus obliged to select the contents that resonate with the editorial policies of the news outlets for which they work (Baran, op.cit: 393, Dennis and Merrill, 2002: 108-113, Watson, Watson, op.cit: 134). And every news outlet has its own agenda to promulgate in the ideological struggle of every society (Straubhaar and LaRose, op.cit: 29-30, Volcic and Dzihana, 2011: 15). Essentially, the theorisations on news selection explicated in 4.1, inter alia, points to the fact that in covering the CDF and Taylor trials and the TJ process as a whole, the media was practically unable to put out every bit of the contents on the said issues that came in for publication. Rather, every media outlet that covered the trials and the country's TJ system, selected its own stories for publication that resonated with its editorial policies, which are tied to the agenda it wanted to promulgate and the position it has as well taken in the ideological

struggle of the society. Moreover, the more pertinent issues about media coverage of the trials and post-conflict justice for which the different models of news selection are employed are extensively analysed in 4.1.

I now turn to theorisations on framing, which are critically explored in both the models of media analysis (see 4.1 and 4.2) and methodological frameworks (see 5.1) chapters. Thus, the centrality of framing to the theoretical and methodological dimensions of this study cannot be overemphasised (see 5.1). One of the ways by which the media shapes 'public opinions' is by its ability to frame (or rather contextualise) issues and events that interest the public; since the public essentially relies on the media for pertinent information to make informed decisions (Campaine, Sterling, Guback and Noble Jr., 1982: 1, Khan, 1998: 423-424). Framing thus pinpoints the structures underlying the depictions that the public reads, hears and watches (Jamieson and Waldman, 2003: xii).

Thus, the ability of the media in shaping public opinion is apparent, when its coverage influences the decisions of audiences on issues and events of national or international importance. However, the extent to which media coverage can influence audiences' decisions has given credence to a plethora of response models of media analyses in media effects research (see 4. 2). Significantly, the local media was very much interested in the coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials and the TJ process as a whole (see 1.1 and 2.2). Consequently, different media outlets in Sierra Leone framed the stories which they selected (news selection) for publication, pursuant to their editorial policies to shape public opinions in Sierra Leone on those issues and events, regarding the said trials and the country's post-conflict justice process as a whole.

This fact essentially leads one's theoretical and conceptual arguments to the numerous theorisations on agenda-setting (Griffin, 2006: 400, Severin and Tankard Jr., 2001:219-225), which are again accordingly dealt with in the models of media analysis (see 4.1) and methodological frameworks (see 5.1) chapters. However, agenda setting as a theory, does not presuppose that the media can directly sway public opinion, but it is rather based on the supposition that the media can, through news selection and framing, direct the public to pay

attention to specific issues and events, thereby shaping public opinion (Iyengar, 2011: 276). Priming, which is an extension of the agenda-setting theorisation, is the process by which the media attend to some issues and not others and thereby alter the standards by which public figures are evaluated (Severin and Tankard Jr., op.cit: 226, Bryant and Thompson, 2002: 87-91).

Can it therefore be theoretically argued that the local media in Sierra Leone did not sway public opinions in its coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials and the country's post-conflict justice process, but rather shaped public opinion by directing Sierra Leoneans to focus on those war crimes and TJ issues, to which the media paid the greatest attention, prominence and valence? The critical and empirical analysis of the media's coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials and the country's post-conflict justice process, relative to CSOs' representatives' responses to the coverage, would form the basis for the appropriate empirical answer to the above question (see analysis between chapters six and eight).

However, there are also a plethora of theories that can incisively guide any communications research that gauges media impact on society, but this study contextualises the structured interpretative and the post-modernist (see 4.2) models in gauging the responses of CSOs' representatives to the coverage of the trials and the TJ process in Sierra Leone. Though the choice of the above models is predicated upon the factual circumstances articulated in 4.1, it should be noted that those circumstances are not devoid of Sierra Leone's demography and ethnography. So far, the theoretical and conceptual arguments that are embedded in this section have clearly articulated some of the most salient issues that permeate intellectual discourses on media impacts, consonant with my research questions.

However, it is also important to analyse the political and social contexts that impact the functionality of the media that is being studied. Essentially, McQuail's libertarian (free press) and social responsibility theories can clearly explicate this. Even though the libertarian press functions freely in a democracy; that does not presuppose that it cannot be regulated by law (Croteau and Hoynes, 2006: 32, McQuail, op.cit:171, Alder, 2007: 19-40, Welsh and Greenwood, 1999: 1-3). This is in tandem with what Mill (Gray, 1996: 1-2), a passionate supporter of free speech, meant by saying that 'my freedom to swing my fist ends where your

face begins' (Warburton, 1999: 131). Significantly, the media in Sierra Leone is arguably modeled on the libertarian theory. The country's media landscape is thus put into perspective in this analysis to not only establish how the socio-economic, cultural and political environments of Sierra Leone impact media exercises in the country, but to also assess the extent to which the media's functionality dovetailed with the ideals of the libertarian theory.

3.1.1 Media History in Perspective

After independence, the print media continued to play the vigorous and questioning role which it had done since the very first newspaper in Africa – the Sierra Leone Gazette – was published in 1801. But broadcasting (radio and television) was unreservedly meant for propagandising on behalf of successive governments (legitimate and illegitimate); as the notions of diversity of contents, plurality of ownership, editorial integrity and independence etc. were hardly entertained by the management of the then Sierra Leone Broadcasting Service (SLBS), which was always being remote-controlled by the Ministry of Information (Radio Pluralism in West Africa, 1993:120-122); though it was supposedly established for public service in October, 1955 (Wilkinson, 1972:177, Cole, 1995:11-12).

And the significance of broadcast media was even further exploited by coup plotters, who often seized state power and used it to reach wider audiences, across the country with their undemocratic messages (Broadcasting Policy and Practice in Africa, 2003:1). However, the democratic transition of the 1990s and the successful convergence of communications media and ICTs, which ushered in the broadband revolution, began the transformation of the media landscape of Sierra Leone; just as it did to every other country in the World. Thus, the media of contemporary Sierra Leone is diverse, consisting of print, broadcast, computer technologies and satellite transmission services.

3.1.2 The Print Media

Just as the colonialists were unsuccessful in muzzling and silencing the independent press in Sierra Leone, their successors⁹ have also not succeeded in doing the same. In fact, even though the country's media history is replete with innumerable instances of post-independence governments' attempts to muzzle and silence the critical press, it remained the forerunner or mouthpiece of civil society in projecting their critical views on issues of national and international importance; and continued to perform its 'watch' and 'attack' dog functions (Patterson, op.cit: 347), by attempting to hold successive governments accountable to the people of Sierra Leone, pursuant to the libertarian theory enunciated in 3.1 (Cole, op.cit: 20-55; M'bayoh et.al. 2000:120-123).

This does not however presuppose that basic media ethics were not being flouted by sensational journalists, who had imbibed the 'lap dog' philosophy to either propagandise on behalf of successive legitimate and illegitimate governments or their financiers (see Appendix III⁵⁰³). The most turbulent days for the press came with the seizure of state power on 25th May 1997, by the AFRC/RUF junta, which hounded and maltreated journalists throughout their period of misrule (Gberie, op.cit:110, Gordon, 2004:180). However, the restoration of democracy rekindled the ideals of media freedoms in Sierra Leone's burgeoning and critical print media. And the media thus played an essential role in the restoration of democracy and the country's post-conflict justice and democratic processes (ibid).

The print media in Sierra Leone has seemingly become a free for all enterprise. Section 25 of the 1991 Constitution, unreservedly gives legality to every person to own any medium of his/her choice for the dissemination of information, opinions and ideas. Arguably, it is this constitutional guarantee and freedom, coupled with the above advantages and a number of considerations (including ethno-regional, political and other socio-economic factors) that have influenced the rapid growth and expansion of Sierra Leone's print media. There are now eighty-one (81) newspapers and magazines which are operational nationwide (IMC's 2013 Register for

⁹ Legitimate and illegitimate government functionaries

Newspapers and Magazines.). This is indeed indicative of the rapid expansion of Sierra Leone's print media.

'A survey (2008) carried out by Foundation Hironnelle on behalf of UNICEF, provided some indication of readership interest with 4.7% opting for Concord Times, followed by Awoko with 4.5%, Awareness Times with 4%, For Di People with 3%, and Standard Times with 2.9%' (IMC's Report, 2010:9). It is quite intriguing to note that though the country's illiteracy rate is astronomically high (62%- *ibid*: 9), yet there are so many newspapers and magazines in circulation, making it plausible for the educated 'elites' to rely on the print media for the free flow of information (Broadcasting Policy and Practice, *op.cit*:1) in Sierra Leone than the 62% illiterate population.

This points to the extent to which the 'elites' can influence the dynamics of the production of print media contents because they are educated enough to understand and appreciate the print media's role in shaping post-conflict opinions in Sierra Leone. This can as well serve as a justification to study print media contents in this era of information technology, when the mainstream media is no longer the sole gate-keeper to the information flow in society (see analysis in 3.1). Thus, with the increase of internet service providers in Sierra Leone, the recent editions (since 2007) of some of the above newspapers are now available in the Worldwide Web.

3.1.3 The Electronic Media

Broadcast media which was exclusively the treasure of the state has been democratised. Private investors have been allowed to own radio and television stations in Sierra Leone since the 1990s (Radio Pluralism in West Africa, *op.cit*: 122-124). There are now precisely eighty-five (85) radio stations, registered as either commercial or community radios, but Radio Mount Aureol (owned by the University of Sierra Leone) is the only teaching radio station in the country. In fact, radio is the most widespread communications media in Sierra Leone. This is simply because radio dispatches can reach wider audiences in their local parlance. And this makes it quite realistic for the country's 62% illiterate population to rely on it for the free flow

of information in Sierra Leone; as they (the illiterate Sierra Leoneans) who are in the majority can neither read newspapers nor access information through social media.

Essentially, the transformation of the then SLBS into a corporation (now SLBC), pursuant to Act No.1 of 2010, made Sierra Leone the third country in Africa (after South Africa and Ghana) to legitimise public service broadcasting in the continent, but the European Union (EU) observers of the 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections, criticised SLBC for its 'overtly biased' radio and television coverage in favour of the incumbent All People's Congress (APC) Government that won the elections (EU's Elections Observers Report - Javier Gutierrez, 2012:5-6). Approximately, 16.2% of the population watches television, with a high percentage of such viewers having a relatively moderate level of education (IMC's Annual Report, 2010). Hand in hand with conventional television, satellite television is now common in Sierra Leone. There are now thirteen (13) television stations and up to three registered Satellite Dish Providers in the whole country (IMC's 2013 Register for Television Stations).

3.1.4 Media Groupings

The formation of media groupings by journalists to articulate their interests and grievances in post-conflict Sierra Leone is also a commonplace in the country. The Sierra Leone Association of Journalists (SLAJ) is the leading media organisation in Sierra Leone. It draws its membership from the print and electronic media. In fact, it is now forty-two years (42) old, making it one of Sierra Leone's oldest CSOs in existence since 1971 (see Appendix III^{535, 542}). SLAJ is the principal defender of free speech, responsible journalism and media freedoms in democratic Sierra Leone (see Appendix III).

The association is also renowned for its campaign against corruption, structural violence and injustices in Sierra Leone. There are eight other functional media groupings in Sierra Leone. Journalists for Human Rights (JHR), Reporters Union (RU), Women in the Media (WM), Association of Journalists on Mining and Extractives (AJME), Sports Writers Association of Sierra Leone (SWASAL), Journalists for Attitudinal and Behavioural Change (JABC), Sierra Leone News Vendors Association (SLNVA) and Veteran Journalists Union (VJU). Meanwhile, since the

libertarian theory does not presuppose 'absolute press freedom', there are therefore a plethora of laws that restrict the right to freedom of expression and of the press in Sierra Leone, though such laws are antithetical to 'censorship' or 'prior restraints' legislation (Pember, 2003/4: 64-71). What is of essence to the discourses of the theory is whether such laws that restrict the right to freedom of expression and of the press in Sierra Leone are reasonably justifiable for a democratic society. McQuail's (op.cit:171) social responsibility construct however balances the said press freedom with the inevitable need for the media to be socially responsible to citizens because the media is said to have obligations to the public that amount to a form of public stewardship.

Thus, since the media in a democracy guides the democratic process, it must conscientiously do so with a duty to be honest and fair to all and sundry. Sierra Leone as a state is founded on the principles of freedom, justice and democracy. The country's 1991 Constitution places sovereignty in the hands of Sierra Leoneans from whom government through the Constitution derives its powers, authorities and legitimacy;¹⁰ it also empowers the media (section 11) to hold the government accountable and transparent to Sierra Leoneans. Thus, the media can conscientiously perform these functions when it upholds the ideals of the social responsibility theory. The fundamental principles of Sierra Leone's media ethics, which are now constituent part of the country's media laws, are to a large extent predicated on the social responsibility theory.¹¹

3.1.5 The Functional and Conflict Perspectives of the Media

The functional and conflict perspectives of social institutions are two essential paradigms that explain the role which the media can indeed play in post-conflict societies (Schaefer, 2003:159, Howard, 2003:1-3). The functional perspective explores the constructive role which the media can play in a post-conflict context; it subsumes the public service model, the concept of peace journalism, and Shaw's and Thompson's responsibility to report (the new journalistic paradigm) and human rights journalism respectively (see 3.4). The public service model thus enunciates

¹⁰Section 5 (1) & (2) of the Constitution

¹¹See the Media Code of Practice (MCP) (2000) and Section 38 of Act No.12 of 2000 as Amended in 2006 and 2007.

the diverse role which the media can play in serving the public's interest (Croteau and Hoynes, op.cit:22, Dennis and Merrill, op.cit: 48). This perspective of the media's role in society serves as a coherent theoretical and conceptual framework to critically analyse how the media communicated the ideals of TJ and whether it played any central role in promoting good governance and democratic accountability in Sierra Leone.

The conflictual perspective explores the role which the media can play in fomenting renewed conflict in a post-conflict context. This perspective of the media's role in society subsumes the mass manipulative or propaganda and the commodification of news paradigms (see 3.4). The conflictual perspective provides an appropriate theoretical and conceptual framework to analyse the media's conflictual and controversial role in post-conflict Sierra Leone to establish whether the numerous 'training sessions', which have been conducted for journalists on media 'ethics' and the ideals of 'peace journalism', since the end of Sierra Leone's civil war in 2002, have had the desired consequences on the media's coverage of pertinent issues and events in the socio-economic, political and legal transformations of Sierra Leone.

3.2 Civil Society

Habermas's seminal work, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (1962), has been very central to contemporary discourses of the concept of civil society (Croteau and Hoynes, op.cit:22). The public sphere is a reflection of a national space that provides a forum for public debate (Habermas, 2002: 92). 'Access to the space is free, and freedoms of assembly, association and expression are guaranteed' by law (McQuail, 2005: 181). Habermas's conception of the public sphere mirrors the role which the media can play in a democracy by helping to cultivate a social space for ongoing political debates (Dahlgren and Sparks, 1991, Makumbe, 1998: 312). The public sphere also reflects the notion of civil society; a concept which has become appealing to the contemporary state, political parties and even ethnic and religious groups across Africa (Kargbo, 2011:194).

Since this study essentially gauges CSOs' representatives' perceptions of media coverage of war crimes trials in Sierra Leone's post-conflict democratic context, it is important to critically explore civil society as a concept and its relationship with that of citizenship. The critical

exploration of civil society in this context, encompasses issues relative to what the concept is, whether it is a Eurocentric concept that is of any value to Africa; how it can both be used to foster democratic legitimacy and to undermine the stability of a functional democracy that is in transition. According to Wolfe (1997: 9) civil society is made up of 'those forms of communal and associational life which are organised neither by the self-interest of the market nor by the coercive potential of the state'.

Elshtain (1997: 14) sees civil society as 'the many forms of community and association that dot the landscape of democratic culture-families, churches, neighbourhood groups, trade unions, self-help movements, volunteer activities of all sort'. The trend of thought that is discernible in Wolfe's and Elshtain's conceptions is that civil society is neither state owned nor is it affiliated with the market economy. Civil society is thus theoretically conceptualised as a sphere of social interaction distinct from the state and its economy (characterised by voluntary associations, civic publics and communications media) in which citizens can participate in a wide range of fundamental political, social and economic affairs (Marris and Thornham, 2000:92, Campbell and Lewis, 1999:1, Kargbo, 2011:193, Salamon, Anheier et.al., 1999:3, Cohen, 1999, Axtmann, 2001:5).

In a sub-Saharan African context, civil society could include professionalised NGOs working in areas closely related to democratisation, interests groups such as trade unions and employers' associations, church-based associations etc. (Randall, 2007: 92, Makumbe, op.cit: 305). Thus, CSOs are mostly classified according to their purpose. They can be protective and interest-based associations, promotional groups, issue-oriented organisations, civic organisations and cultural and development associations. There are now hundreds of thousands of CSOs across Africa. And the new media has broadened the public sphere, making it absolutely possible for them to effectively participate in national and international discourses and simultaneously monitor the operations of their governments to enhance democratic accountability. They can draw up petitions, organise public meetings and debates, advertise in the media and even hold public demonstrations on issues of common concern. They can also lobby the legislature and executive arms of government (Kargbo, op.cit: 201-205).

Conceptually, civil society is inextricably linked to the concept of citizenship. Citizenship presupposes the position or status of people within a state who are accorded complete socio-economic, civic and political rights. This is often contrasted with the status of non-citizens or aliens in such a society whose rights are limited (Venn, 1986: 62-63). This does not mean that the fundamental rights of non-citizens or aliens are neither recognised nor protected. Citizens' socio-economic, civic and political rights, duties and obligations are accordingly protected by law (Burns, Peltason, Cronin and Magleby, 2000: 128).¹² Of the plethora of obligations of the citizens of Sierra Leone, the duties to cultivate a sense of patriotism and nationalism so that loyalty to the state surpasses sectional, ethnic, tribal or other loyalties; make positive and useful contributions to the advancement, progress and well-being of the society and participate in and defend all the democratic processes of the state;¹³ are some of the fundamental concepts upon which the foundation of civil society in Sierra Leone is built.

CSOs are formed to uphold the above and other socio-political objectives that are cognate with good governance, democratic accountability, poverty reduction, humanitarian aid and basic services provision (Randall, op.cit: 92, Elone, 2010:3, Constatinos, 2001: 2). And communications media have been the most widespread and effective mechanisms which CSOs have been using in Sierra Leone to hold the government and its functionaries accountable to citizens (see 3.3.1). This democratic practice is theoretically bolstered by Murdock (1992: 17-41) in his analysis on the nexus between the constitution of citizenship and communications media. He argues that citizens must have access to information to understand the parameters of their civic rights and duties to make informed decision that involve public political choices, proffer criticisms and offer recommendations thereto.

Even though citizens are members of society, they do not automatically constitute civil society by themselves. To constitute civil society, they must voluntarily affiliate themselves with non-profit making associations that have institutional and structural presence and such associations must be institutionally separated from the state and they must be fundamentally in control of their own affairs (Salamon, Anheier et.al, op.cit:3-4). Essentially, for CSOs to be robust and be

¹² See chapters 2, 3 and 4 of Sierra Leone's 1991 Constitution

¹³ See section 13 of Sierra Leone's 1991 Constitution.

able to exert considerable influence in the governance process, they must be credible, autonomous and neutral/non-partisan in the body-politic and in their discursive treatments and analysis of the political dynamics of the state. Meanwhile, the post-conflict justice and democratic transition processes that emerged in Sierra Leone have thus given an impetus to their role in the governance process. Their importance is captured in the LPA and they have had representatives in virtually all the post-conflict democratic institutions and structures which were a creation of the LPA and those that were inaugurated even after the enactment of the LPA.

Thus, there are now thousands of CSOs across Sierra Leone and some of the most notable ones include SLAJ, the Sierra Leone Bar Association (SLBA), and Campaign for Good Governance (CGG), Coalition for Civil Society (CCS), Coalition for Justice and Accountability (COJA), Forum for Democratic Initiatives (FORDI), Society for Democratic Initiatives (SDI), Journalists for Attitudinal and Behavioural Change (JABC) etc. The critical question that should be posed at this stage is how credible, autonomous and neutral/non-partisan are the said CSOs in Sierra Leone's body-politic? Have their presence added any values to Sierra Leone's nascent democracy? Or have they been undermining the post-conflict democratic institutions and governance processes in Sierra Leone?

Answers to these questions will unfold as the analysis progresses. However, in contemporary democratic states in Africa, the formation of CSOs to monitor the dynamics of their body-politic is now a commonplace. And this development is seen in the fact that mass political participation, which is a fundamental ideal of democracy, was largely undermined during the era of colonialism, one-party dictatorship and militarism in Africa (Gordon, op.cit: 182-187, Kargbo, op.cit: 198-200, Makumbe, op.cit: 306- 307). At a global scale, states that adhered to communist ideologies also suffocated the development of and the ideals of civil society (Makumbe, op.cit: 307-308). However, the resurgence of the concept of civil society internationally is not unconnected with the triumph of democracy over tyranny and terror, manifested in the collapse of the Soviet Union, the fall of the Berlin Wall and the clamour for democracy in Eastern Europe (Elone, op.cit: 2, Salamon, Anheier et.al. 1999: 4-5, Derbyshire and Derbyshire, op.cit:232-238, Goldstein, 2001: 45, Sharansky, 2006: 6-8). The revolutionary quest

for democracy in Eastern Europe in particular gave an impetus and enviable status to the people's power in the World; as it even affected the communist system of China, leading to the massacre of hundreds of protesters in Tiananmen Square, Beijing, in 1989 (Goldstein, *ibid*: 45).

In Sierra Leone, colonialism was hostile to the operations of CSOs. This undemocratic tendency was imbibed at independence, making it very difficult for CSOs to project their varied interests on national issues (Gordon, *op.cit*:183, Kargbo, *op.cit*:198-199). The legally manipulated transformation of Sierra Leone's multi-party democracy into a one-party system exacerbated the political and legal restraints, which had hitherto been imposed on the functionality of CSOs in the country (Kandeh, 2004: 177). Thus, the 1978 Constitution legitimised tyranny and subjected even CSOs' constitutional rights to freedom of conscience, expression, association and assembly to those of the recognised party (APC).¹⁴

Analytically, the Sierra Leone Labour Congress (SLLC), National Union of Students (NUSS) and SLAJ, were amongst the CSOs that suffered immensely at the hands of the APC that governed Sierra Leone between 1978 and 1992 (Kargbo, *op.cit*: 200). In fact, Sierra Leone's socio-political literature is replete with so many instances of the APC's crack down on CSOs operations in the country (Kandeh, *op.cit*: 177, Bangura, 2004: 27-29, Abdullah, 2004: 45-49). This trend continued into the era of the National Provisional Ruling Council (NPRC) junta, when the media, a constituent part of and a participant in Sierra Leone's public sphere, became vociferous in exposing the insatiable thirst of the junta's lust for ill-gotten wealth (see Appendix III^{532, 524, 547}). The NPRC junta had overthrown the one-party APC dictatorship in a bloodless coup on the 29th April, 1992, with the hope of giving voice to the voiceless, civil society and the media, that overwhelmingly supported the coup that brought the APC's twenty-four (24) years of misrule to an end in Sierra Leone (Rashid, 2004: 83-86).

The political transition of Sierra Leone from one-party dictatorship and militarism to democracy, began with the re-construction and registration of political parties whose existence had been legally forbidden by the 1978 Constitution, the reinvigoration of civil society, which was being suffocated during the long era of one-party dictatorship and militarism (1978-1996),

¹⁴ See Chapter II of the 1978 Constitution.

the media's campaign for democratic good governance and the clamour of the people of Sierra Leone for democracy, leading to the conduct of the 1996 Presidential and Parliament elections. These developments in the political landscape of Sierra Leone were not unconnected with the quest for democratisation that had spread from Eastern Europe to Africa and beyond. The rise in the wave of people's power in Eastern Europe, gave credence to the assertion that the concept of civil society is firmly rooted in Europe's socio-political and historical development; and that it is alien to Africa. And the wave of the people's power predicated upon civil society activism in Eastern Europe has to a large extent influenced the formation of CSOs in Africa based on the Eastern European model (Salamon, Anheier, et. al. op.cit: 4, Okigbo, op.cit: 63).

However, in as much as it cannot be denied that the revival of civil society activism in Africa is not unconnected with the resurgence of the concept of civil society in the late 1980s in Europe; it can be robustly argued in the light of Okigbo's conceptual analysis that the concept of civil society is akin to Africa's rich resources in communal relations, community communication, nongovernmental traditional organisations and personal interest in public welfare. Thus, civil society is as old in Africa as the earliest human settlement (Okigbo, *ibid*: 64). This argument is continued in the trend of thought of Kargbo's (op.cit: 198-200) conceptualisation of civil society in pre-colonial Africa and post-colonial Sierra Leone. Therefore, it cannot be said that the concept of civil society is alien to Africa.

Africa has indeed had a rich civic society and culture (Chazan, Mortimer, et. al., 1999: 74-79) which had formed the basis of the plethora of ethnic, religious and traditional organisations and institutions that had been protecting the public's welfare and African ideals prior to the advent of colonialism. And it was those traditional institutions that *inter alia* laid the basis for the civic inclinations against colonialism in particularly British West Africa (BWA); hence civil society had been the leading vanguard against imperialism in West Africa (Okigbo, op.cit: 78). The British colonial policy of association, created a governance structure that undermined the proper functionality of CSOs in West Africa (Kargbo, op.cit: 198, Makumbe, op.cit: 306).

This led to the need for West Africans to use the 'print media' to articulate their varied interests through proto-nationalistic civic organisations like the Aborigines Rights Protection Society

(ARPS), the West African Students Union (WASU) and the West African Youths League (WAYL) (Gordon, op.cit: 182-183, Nwokefor, 2000: 186-187). Essentially, nationalists' 'newspapers' played an important role in awakening racial, socio-economic and political consciousness; and simultaneously championed the campaign for political freedom and independence in BWA (Ekwelie, 1978: 209-226, Coleman, 1958). The said civic organisations did not therefore clamour for political power for themselves, but rather peacefully agitated for the protection of the interests of citizens in the body-politic of BWA. They believed that West Africans needed political independence because they were capable of governing themselves.

The resurgence of civil society in this era of democratisation is a manifestation of mass political participation on the part of the entire citizenry of democratic states in Africa. Thus, CSOs offer opportunities to citizens to monitor and influence the democratic process of the state (Elone, op.cit:8). They can as well check the excesses of government, provide civic education for citizens, clarify uncertainties and dispel misconceptions in the body-politic, disseminate invaluable information about the governance process and establish a link between the citizens and the government (Macauley, op.cit: 48-49, Kargbo, op.cit: 105-115, Berewa, op.cit: 209-213). In fact, it was the CSOs in Sierra Leone, with support from the international community and the media that pressured the NPRC junta into inaugurating the democratisation process, since it was clear that the junta was not prepared to relinquish power.

CSOs, through the media, called for two national consultative conferences (Bintumani I and II); organised demonstrations against the despotic operations of the NPRC junta; and stood up against its ferocious attempts to disrupt and nullify the Parliamentary and Presidential elections of 26th February and March 15th 1996 (Hirsch, op.cit: 80-82, Kandeh, op.cit: 143). Even when the elected Government (SLPP) was overthrown shortly after the elections, CSOs were instrumental in agitating for the restoration of the elected Government, which eventually happened in 1998. CSOs also became concerned about the direction of the peace process. Whilst the ordinary citizens clamoured for 'peace at all cost', which hitherto turned out be counter-productive for TJ in Sierra Leone, CSOs at the end of a national consultative

conference,¹⁵ opposed the quest for ‘peace at all cost’ on the ground that it would amount to ‘no peace at all’ (Penfold, op.cit:140).

They came out with a position paper on the issue from which the media constructed its news and views from different angles. CSOs were also in union with the international community in condemning particularly the ‘amnesty’ and ‘power-sharing’ provisions in the LPA (Penfold, op.cit: 149, Berewa, op.cit: 140). They were also the first to lend credence to Parliament’s call for war crimes trials in Sierra Leone (Kabbah, op.cit: 185-189, Berewa, op.cit: 142). And they overwhelmingly joined forces with Parliament to demonstrate against the RUF’s recalcitrance towards the initial implementation of the LPA, leading to the signing of the APA (Hirsch, op.cit:87-89). However, CSOs can as well undermine the functionality of a democratic system.

This postulation is coterminous with Berman’s (1997: 562) position of the negative role, which a robust civil society can play in undermining the stability of any democracy. Thus, a strong civil society can exacerbate rather than alleviate political problems. By bringing together dissatisfied individuals and groups, civil society may actually deepen societal cleavages and serve as a catalyst for the strengthening of oppositional movements that can weaken a government (Okigbo, op.cit: 75). Meanwhile, the critical views which Kargbo (op.cit: 212-218), Berman (op.cit: 561-562) and Okigbo (op.cit: 75) have expressed about how the formation of CSOs can be counter-productive for the overwhelming interest of the entire citizenry and the overall stability of a democratic system are important for any study that thoroughly explores the significance of the concept of civil society to any functional democracy.

This in fact raises questions about the independence and neutrality of CSOs in the clamour for political power in Africa. How committed are CSOs in holding governments and the political class accountable to the entire citizenry? What are their levels of credibility and responsibility to the political sovereign? How do they really generate their finances? Do they really project the interests of citizens or the international NGOs that fund them? Have they been meaningfully contributing to the TJ processes that have so far emerged in post-conflict societies

¹⁵ Organised by the National Commission for Human Rights and Democracy (NCHRD) between the 7th and 9th of April, 1999, at the Sierra Leone Bank Complex, Kingtom

in Africa or do they constitute a potential threat to the peace processes of post-conflict countries undergoing democratic transitions in the continent?

Analytically, the operations of CSOs in Africa are crippled by a number of debacles that have undoubtedly affected their neutrality in the body-politic in general and their functionality in particular, making their relevance seriously controversial in multi-ethnic post-conflict democracies in Africa. Ethno-regionalism arguably remains a fundamental problem that permeates CSOs operations in most African countries (Constatinos, op.cit: 7, Makumbe, op.cit: 311-313, Diamond, 1997: 24-25). This argument is itself bolstered by the centrality of ethno-regionalism in African politics; (Randall, op.cit: 88-92, Hayward and Kandeh, 1987:47, Bogaards, 2007: 178, Abdallah, 2004: 5) which is arguably the most influential conceptual phenomenon that propels the 'Us and Them' dichotomy, which the political elites are exploiting in their quest for political power.

This constitutes a weakness in the operations of CSOs in Africa. In Sierra Leone, there are CSOs that have overtly joined forces with other political groups and some sections of the media to support the existing status quo (Berewa, op.cit: 211, see Appendix III⁵¹⁴). Thus, can their organisations really be called CSOs in the right sense of the word? What about their neutrality in Sierra Leone's body-politic and how committed are they in holding the APC Government accountable to Sierra Leoneans? Even the background of the membership of some CSOs can tell which side of the political divide to which they belong. For example the JABC is of Northern origin and its members are known for propagandising on behalf of the APC Government. Even SLAJ has been overtly opposing the JABC for openly compromising its independence and neutrality in the political debate.

The JABC has however come under the guise of McQuail's development theory to justify its position that the media should be seen as a partner in the promotion of Sierra Leone's socio-economic and political developments (see 3.1.6). Does this give any indication about whether CSOs in Sierra Leone are only projecting the ideals of their funders or the needs and aspirations of the entire citizenry? Even though CSOs are apolitical in theory, their affiliations with political parties in practice speak volumes of their involvement in party politics in Africa (Berewa, op.cit:

211). CSOs that are affiliated with either the 'Us or Them' ideology can use communications media to project their socio-political ideals (see 4.1).

This reflects Bennett's (1990:103-125, Silverman, 2012: 5) indexing theory (politicians telling the media what to write about) enunciated in 4.1, but obscures the position that CSOs can as well use communications media 'to cultivate a sense of patriotism and nationalism so that loyalty to the state surpasses sectional, ethnic or other loyalties'.¹⁶ The nationalistic civic nongovernmental organisations that challenged and dismantled colonialism in West African were neither ethnically nor regionally divided. They were unified and placed the West African states' loyalties above sectional, regional, ethnic and primordial sentiments.

This was clearly fundamental to their success, but the strong affiliation of contemporary CSOs with government functionaries and opposition political parties in Africa (Okigbo, op.cit: 78) does not only affect their neutrality in the body-body politic, it also negatively affects their fundamental functions of holding the government (through communications media) accountable to the entire citizenry. This incisively points to how the operations of CSOs in contemporary Africa veer off the theoretical and conceptual framework of civil society, which is clearly akin to what obtained in West Africa prior to political independence. Some CSOs in Sierra Leone are even accused of being stooges of the political status quo. And those who choose to bring out the ills and criminality of existing regimes are dubbed agents of power thirsty opposition parties on the basis of tribal/regional sentiments (see Appendix III^{538, 537}). Corruption and financial mismanagement are other debilitating forces that are militating against the efficiency of CSOs in Africa. Kargbo (op.cit: 212) had this to say on this point: 'There is widespread corruption within CSOs, characterised by lack of internal democracy, accountability and transparency'. However, it can still be argued that despite their weaknesses, CSOs are very important in the socio-economic and political transformations of post-conflict societies and the process of building democratic legitimacy in Africa. They can fully utilise the powers of modern communications media to perform the said functions.

¹⁶ See section 13 of Sierra Leone's 1991 Constitution.

In a post-conflict context, CSOs can foster the campaign for peace and reconciliation. They can as well be the forerunners for human rights and campaigners against impunity. In situations where war crimes trials are conducted, they can robustly involve in outreach activities to inform and adequately educate the entire citizenry about the dynamics of war crimes jurisprudence and the rule of law (Making Justice Count, 2012:31-32). They can even monitor such trials and expose any ills and shortcomings, which they think can inhibit the proper dispensation of post-conflict justice. Essentially, even the dynamics of the weak post-conflict governance institutions and structures can be scrutinised and monitored by CSOs to enhance good governance and democratic accountability (Kargbo, op.cit: 120).

In Sierra Leone, CSOs were actively involved in the entire post-conflict justice and reconciliation process. They were also seriously engaged in the processes resulting in the establishment of Sierra Leone's post-conflict justice institutions.¹⁷ They worked closely with the Outreach Section of the SCSL to inform and educate their members and the entire citizenry about the need for war crimes trials in Sierra Leone.¹⁸ And devised and ran programs on the court's operations during the pre-trial, trial and post-trial phases and eventually monitored the proceedings of the court to ensure fair trials (ibid). Essentially, some CSOs have been very instrumental in bringing the post-conflict justice challenges that are still affecting Sierra Leone's recovery efforts to the attention of the international community and the APC Government (see Appendix III^{538, 534}).

3.3 Transitional (Post-Conflict) Justice

TJ is a concept that permeates the mainstream discourses of every post-conflict society. Essentially, TJ is a relatively new concept in international law, but its principal objects (the unflinching quest for both the recognition and respect for human rights and dignity and the need to end impunity and foster post-conflict reconciliation) have been serious issues of intellectual considerations for scholars of different ages. And both the media and CSOs have been playing a pivotal role in promoting the need to uphold the ideals of TJ in a post-conflict

¹⁷ The Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction and Development (CMR.RD), The National Commission for Disarmament, Demobilisation and Reintegration (NCDDR), The National Commission for Resettlement, Rehabilitation and Reconstruction (NCRRR), The National Electoral Commission (NEC), The Anti-Corruption Commission (ACC), National Commission for Human Rights (NCHR) etc.

¹⁸ Making Justice Count, op.cit:29

context (Communicating TJ, 2007, Reporting Justice, 2006, TJ Reporting Audit, Vol. 1 &2, 2008). The media and CSOs have also been sustaining critical debates about the efficacy of the different TJ paradigms, which have been institutionalised to resolve armed conflicts in different parts of Africa.

TJ encompasses the socio-economic, legal and political frameworks that a state can institutionalise to redress the violations of a prior regime and thus prevent the re-occurrence of such violations (Fletcher and Weinstein, 2002: 572 Waldorf, 2009:22, Magarrell and Wesley, 2008: 131, Clerk, 2009: 191-205). This presupposes that the concept requires more than just the creation of accountability for past abuses; it also demands the civic and social transformations needed to ensure that human right abuses are not repeated in the future (Evanston, 2004, Huyse, 2008: 2). This conceptualisation absorbs Schirch's (2002:210-212 cited in Shaw, op.cit, 2012:11-34) 'just peace' and Galtung's positive peace' (1996: 32, cited ibid) frameworks. The former prioritises conflict prevention over conflict resolution and addresses the needs of both victims and perpetrators in a conflictual situation.

As such, it resonates with the latter that looks at peace beyond the absence of war, but critically analyses how the genuine quest for justice, can address the challenges, which physical, cultural and structural violence, can occasion for society. Inferentially, the prosecutorial (or judicial accountability) and non-prosecutorial (or reconciliatory) approaches to post-conflict justice, which are now features of African geo-politics (Cruvellier, 2004) are clearly discernible from the foregoing. Jurisprudentially, the clamour for the respect of human dignity and sanctity of life in the name of human rights has always been the concern of the social contractarians (a group of natural law scholars), who saw human beings as ends in themselves; and hence developed and popularised the natural rights theory (Freeman, 2001: 111-113, Cahn, 2002:461-463, Donnelly,2003: 7-17).

Moreover, the fight against impunity regarding man's inhumanity to man , which is another fundamental object of TJ, has been the concern of every organised human settlement that seeks to protect the rights of its inhabitants against unwarranted infringements by law breakers (Wrights man, Greene, Nietzel, Fortune, 2002:9). Modern states have always been

institutionalising penal codes, through their criminal justice systems, to end impunity and give credence to the notion of justice. Rawls and Nozick established the nexus between justice and right (Freeman, op.cit: 532-569, Hart, 1994: 157-160) but it was Dworkin (2000: 1-7) that factored the concept of right into the conceptual framework of justice (Freeman, ibid: 540). Essentially, the jurisprudence of punishing war criminals dovetails with some fundamental theories of sentencing in criminology- retribution, deterrence and protection of society (Herring, 2005: 40, Roshier, 1996: 31-32).

And it is evident that the convictions secured by the IMT, IMTFE, ICTY, ICTR and ICC, were meant to send a clear message to war criminals that they can no longer commit heinous crimes against their own people and go unpunished. The then UNO's Secretary-General, Kofi Anan, was quite clear on this. '...no ruler, no junta and no army anywhere can abuse human rights with impunity' (Kaczorowska, op.cit: 493). But how can this be reconciled with the reconciliatory approach to TJ, which is somewhat broader in scope than the prosecution of war criminals in war torn countries? Which of the paradigms (judicial accountability or reconciliatory) has proven to be more effective in African conflict analysis and resolution? Why is it that African states are more appreciative of the reconciliatory approach to conflict resolutions than the prosecution of war criminals or leaders, who repudiate the fundamental ideals of democracy with impunity and thus indulge in gross human rights violations? Has impunity been judiciously addressed (in Africa) in the face of the dynamics of war crimes jurisprudence?

Essentially, the controversial issues that surround the above questions are discourses that have attracted lots of media coverage in Africa. The first question mentioned above relates to two distinctly different dialectics. The first asserts that the reconciliatory approach to conflict analysis and resolution is broader in scope than the judicial accountability approach. The second seeks to clarify whether there is any synergy between prosecuting war criminals/human rights violators, while simultaneously fostering the tenets of post-conflict reconciliation in war torn countries. Significantly, it can be argued that the reconciliatory approach encompasses a plethora of models, which have been developed in the quest for post-conflict justice in Eastern Europe, Asia, South America and Africa.

Such models encapsulate institutionalising truths and reconciliation commissions (TRCs), inaugurating programs of disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration (DDR) of ex-combatants, strengthening institutional reforms (in particularly the justice and security sectors), implementing reparation schemes for war victims, enforcing memorialisation programs, enacting gender parity legislation, promoting an independent media that reports without overt biases etc. (Communicating TJ, op.cit: 1-42, Waldorf, op.cit: 22). Thus, whereas the judicial accountability paradigm specifically emphasises the prosecutions of war criminals and human rights violators by courts of competent jurisdictions; the reconciliatory paradigm on the other hand encompasses all the above models, which affect a broader spectrum of a post-conflict society, than the prosecution and conviction of 'a few selected war criminals' for human rights abuses.

The paradigm's development is predicated on the pertinent contributions of scholars in the social sciences and humanities to the evolution of TJ (Merwe and Weinstein, 2010: 2), which was hitherto essentially a jurisprudential construct. The second dialectic, which seeks to establish whether there is any synergy between prosecuting war criminals and simultaneously pursuing reconciliation, is quite crucial to significant media discourses about different societies in transition in Africa. Meanwhile, proponents of the judicial accountability paradigm maintain that there cannot be true, genuine and lasting peace and reconciliation (the main argument of the reconciliation proponents) without justice.

Hence punishing perpetrators of heinous crimes in conflict-afflicted societies will end impunity, break the cycle of violence and usher in sustainable peace and reconciliation (Kargbo, 2011: 123-125, Gberie, op.cit:158-159). This has been the cardinal argument of even jurists, human rights activists and journalists, who have continued to present the case for the ICC against African leaders, who thrive in impunity and thus stop at nothing to satisfy their unmitigated selfishness and rapacity, through patrimonial politics (see Appendix III⁵⁰⁹, ⁵¹⁸). The other question which is raised above about the clamour for TJ in Africa is: 'Which of the paradigms (judicial accountability or reconciliatory) has been widely accepted in the continent and the extent (if at all) to which either or both paradigms has or have impacted Sierra Leone's quest for post-conflict justice'?

It appears that the reconciliatory paradigm (with its concomitant models mentioned above) is that which has held sway in Africa. And TRCs are the most institutionalised of such models in the continent. This is seen in the Ethiopian, Chadian and South African, Ugandan, Burundian, Rwandan and Liberian experiences. Of the countries mentioned above, the peculiarity of the Liberian experience is worth noting here. The country's Accra Comprehensive Peace Accord (which was enacted into law in 2005) called for the inauguration of a robust TRC that recommended the prosecution of over a hundred perpetrators of war crimes and the lustration of about fifty more persons for lending credence and support to the operations of the various warring factions during the Liberian civil war, but neither the alleged war criminals nor their accomplices have either been prosecuted or lustrated (Steinberg, op.cit:52).

Even though proponents of the prosecutions of war criminals (in Liberia and beyond) have continued to argue that the peace process in Liberia is still fragile, because most of the key players and war lords of the country's civil war are still in active national politics (Ellis, 2007:1-29, see Appendix III⁵⁰⁶); those of the reconciliatory approach, are incessant on the country's relative peace, coupled with its post-conflict reconciliation and recovery efforts (Hayner, 2007); as complete manifestations of the successes of the reconciliatory paradigm and its concomitant models in a country that experienced one of the most devastating conflicts in Africa in the 1990s (Steinberg, op.cit: 50-52,). They have continued to argue that peace is a fundamental pre-requisite for development (see Appendix III⁵²⁰); and that is what Liberia is striving towards (Vinck, Pham, Kreutzer, 2011: 2, Sleh, Toe and Weah, 2008). And it now appears that African leaders are very much supportive of the said approach (see Appendix III⁵⁰⁰). However, the case of Sierra Leone is unique; it is the only post-conflict country in the World to simultaneously institutionalise both the judicial accountability and reconciliatory approaches to TJ.

3.3.1 The Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC): Implications for Transitional Justice and War Crimes Jurisprudence in Sierra Leone

Whilst the SCSL reflected the judicial accountability approach, the TRC and the host of other institutions, which were inaugurated to strengthen Sierra Leone's weak democracy and consolidate its hard earned peace and reconciliation, are a reflection of the reconciliatory

approach. Though the institutionalisation of both paradigms (the TRC and the SCSL) was welcomed by some Sierra Leoneans and the international community (Making Justice Count, op.cit:1-2, Alie, op.cit: 251), their parallel operationalisation posed very serious challenges to Sierra Leone's quest for post-conflict justice. This has thus opened up fruitful avenues to question the rationale for simultaneously institutionalising both paradigms in the clamour for TJ in Africa and beyond. And these are contentious issues that have provoked serious media attention and coverage in post-conflict Sierra Leone.

Here, I will discuss the compositions and jurisdictions of both institutions and raise some 'salient issues' about their parallel operationalisation that attracted lots of media coverage. Unlike the ICTY and ICTR, the SCSL was inaugurated, pursuant to an agreement between the UNO and the Sierra Leone Government, as a hybrid court, whose orders have only been given effect to on the basis of international cooperation. Article 1(1) of the statute empowered the SCSL to 'prosecute persons, who bear the greatest responsibility for serious violations of IHL and Sierra Leonean law committed in the territory of Sierra Leone since 30th November, 1996. Article 2 (1) espoused the composition of the SCSL and the appointment of judges. The court's hybridism was rooted only in legal principle, pursuant to Articles 1, 4 and 5 of the Statute, which espoused its 'jurisdiction', 'appointment of a Sierra Leonean Deputy Prosecutor' and 'Sierra Leonean laws', under which the court's indictees (now convicts) should have been tried.

Nevertheless, none of the convicts was tried under Sierra Leone's criminal law. And the Deputy Prosecutor was never a Sierra Leonean for the greater period of the court's existence; it was only after the court had almost completed the AFRC, RUF and CDF trials that Joseph F. Kamara (a Sierra Leonean jurist) was given the appointment. In fact, the SCSL's most sensitive positions were held by foreign nationals and this also raised questions about the hybridism of the court and the quantum of financial resources repatriated abroad from the activities of foreign nationals in the running of the court. The above issues became discourses that eventually attracted serious media coverage.

However, different media outlets argued that had the Registry recruited Sierra Leoneans, who were equally qualified to perform those functions performed by foreign nationals, the court's

hybridism would have been more conspicuous and useful to Sierra Leoneans and their post-conflict recovery efforts; leading to even post-conflict economic development (see Appendix III^{200, 286}). Again, the court's 'jurisdiction' and 'competence' never went beyond 30th November, 1996, but war crimes had been committed in Sierra Leone since the beginning of the war in 1991. This 'jurisdictional limitation' was arguably calculated to give legitimacy to the blanket amnesty provision (Article XIV) in the Abidjan Peace Accord, which was never taken to Parliament for ratification, nor implemented to end the carnage in the country.

So of what legal significance was the 'jurisdictional limitation' to the prosecution of perpetrators for war crimes in Sierra Leone? Why should those war crimes suspects (who allegedly committed heinous crimes, before 30th November, 1996), be exculpated from war crimes charges? Does this issue of 'selective justice' genuinely resonate with the need to end impunity in post-conflict Sierra Leone? These were some of the questions which were raised by the media in connection with the SCSL's 'jurisdictional limitations'. Again, the phrase in Article 1 (1), '...to prosecute persons who bear the greatest responsibility for serious violations of IHL and Sierra Leonean law...' has been a 'prosecutorial discretion' and a 'jurisdictional limitation' on the functionality of the SCSL that is still being questioned in some legal and political circles; leading to controversial debates that have also been sustained by the media (see Appendix III^{200, 294}).

However, of the four trials conducted, the prosecutors only indicted and prosecuted just 'twelve' (12) persons, nine (9) of whom (including Charles Taylor) were eventually convicted of either war crimes, crimes against humanity and other serious violations of IHL; or for aiding and abetting the commission of the said offences in Sierra Leone between 1996 and 2002. Even though the convictions secured, were geared towards ending impunity in Sierra Leone, a number of important questions were raised by the media and CSOs to ascertain how impunity was really addressed by the SCSL. Did the trials of just 'twelve' (12) persons for war crimes, sufficiently address the problem of impunity in post-conflict Sierra Leone, which is still prone to violence? What about the other 'top' and 'middle level' commanders, who were not brought to justice?

Can they be prosecuted under Sierra Leone's criminal law, given the 'blanket amnesty' provision in the LPA, which sanctioned impunity in post-conflict Sierra Leone? What impact has the functionality of the SCSL had on the country's judicial system and the rule of law, when the court only indicted and prosecuted selected war criminals, involved just a handful of Sierra Leonean jurists in its operations, and even partially negated its jurisdiction in Article 1 (1) by failing to indict and prosecute the selected war criminals under Sierra Leone's criminal law? These and similar questions continue to occupy the minds of Sierra Leoneans both near and far who proffer differing answers in a quest to addressing the paramount issue of ending impunity and holding to account those who bore the greatest responsibility for war crimes in Sierra Leone. The issue of so-called 'insider witnesses', and the operation by the SCSL of a witness protection scheme, also occupied the media and civil society. How this can be reconciled with the genuine fight against impunity, it was asked?

In a post-conflict country like Sierra Leone, it was argued, where poverty is rife, some witnesses, out of ill-will or for economic reasons (see Appendix III²⁹⁴) came forward and testified, particularly against the CDF leaders, who were convicted because the court wanted to satisfy the international community's urge to convict (see Appendix III^{200, 303}). The indictment and prosecution of the CDF leaders, particularly Chief Hinga Norman, raised so many pertinent questions of note in the media about the legacy of the SCSL. One arguable notable question was that which Penfold raised in 2012.¹⁹ The question is: 'who else will come forward to fight for the cause of peace and democracy in the future if they face the threat of being treated as a war criminal?' This question was also passionately raised by Charles F. Margai, lead counsel for the CDF leaders in his plea in mitigation after the convictions of Moinina Fofana and Alieu Kondowai. And this was eventually picked by the media and made prominent in its coverage.

What even appeared to be more paradoxical was the fact that at the time when the CDF leaders were being tried, the Americans got the Government of Sierra Leone to sign a bilateral treaty which was eventually ratified by the Sierra Leone Parliament, contrary to CSOs' stance, preventing Sierra Leone from turning in any indicted US citizens to the ICC for war crimes trials

¹⁹ See page 190 of his 'Atrocities, Diamonds and Diplomacy: The inside Story of the Conflict in Sierra Leone'.

(ibid: 189). This raises the question of how genuine was the USA (the country that provided more than half of the budgeted \$250 million for the operations of the SCSL) in ending impunity, whilst it simultaneously pressured the Government of Sierra Leone into sanctioning impunity, when it came to the prosecution of US citizens for war crimes. These were also other important issues that caught the media's attention. Furthermore, the time, cost and resources which it took the SCSL to try just nine (9) war crimes convicts manifested a serious weakness of the judicial accountability approach to TJ. Here is an example of how the media reflected the issue:

'Most disenchanted Sierra Leoneans it would appear, tend to relegate the importance of the issue of human rights, justice and reconciliation, which the court seeks to address, by criticising it as too expensive and creating more tension and security threat rather than administering justice and addressing the question of impunity. Many are of the view that the money being spent on running the court should have served a better purpose instead such as providing shelter, medical health centres, schools and other assistance to amputees and the war victims.' (see Appendix III²⁰⁰)

However, the SCSL had clearly defined 'punitive' and 'distributive' jurisdiction; whilst the TRC had its own 'restorative' and 'healing' jurisdiction. The simultaneous functionality of both institutions occasioned confusion and conflict in their spheres of operations. The SCSL prevented the TRC from holding public hearings with the then indictees (now convicts), who were already in detention. This was tantamount to repudiating the statutory jurisdiction of the TRC, as it was obliged by law to hold public hearings and elicit requisite information from persons, who were involved in the armed conflict to create an impartial historical record of the conflict.²⁰ The exclusion of Chief Norman's testimony from the TRC Report in particular, left an irreparable void in the TRC's literature. The TRC and CSOs and the media were of the view that the court's decision did not sufficiently take into account the respective roles of the two institutions, which were clearly defined by law.²¹ In fact, there were 'middle level commanders', who deliberately refused to testify before the TRC for fear that their testimonies, were to be used to prosecute them.

²⁰See Article 6 (1).

²¹TRC Report, Vol. II, op.cit:109.

3.4 The Media, Civil Society and Transitional Justice: The Theoretical Synergy Analysed

An analysis of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks of TJ in 3.3 above shows that post-conflict justice is not restricted to the institutionalisation of judicial accountability mechanisms for past abuses. The concept also encompasses the civic and social transformation needed to ensure that abuses are not repeated in the future (Evanston, 2004). Arguably, that expectation partly relies on a free, independent and socially responsible media and an active civil society, which can robustly monitor the working of the entire TJ process. In Sierra Leone for instance, FORDI used the media to communicate TJ to civil society and played an essential role in facilitating the peace and reconciliation process between 1999 and 2004.

FORDI also held a joint consultative seminar with Awoko, Democrat and For Di People newspapers in 1999 on CSOs' role in upholding the ideals of post-conflict justice and democracy. SDI has been vocal in the quest for media freedom, access to information and the repeal of Sierra Leone's law on sedition and criminal libel. It is being supported by SLAJ in its lobbying to promote democratic initiatives in Sierra Leone. CCS has been participating in radio and phone-in programs across Sierra Leone on issues of national cohesion and TJ. With branches all over the country, its participation in national debates has been influenced by media operations in virtually every district.

COJA sent representatives to observe the Taylor trial at The Hague and they reported back to its members and the wider civil society through the media. The media, with the support of civil society and other governance institutions (particularly the judiciary and legislature), serve as a bastion of participatory democracy; in building better citizenry and a fuller democracy (Schudson, op.cit: 204). Thus, a free and independent media and an active civil society are two fundamentally essential ingredients of a robust democracy (Haynes, op.cit: 22- 23, Schudson, op.cit: 204, Kargbo, 2010: 121, Kargbo, 2011: 70-79). But how do the media socially construct realities? Should realities be socially constructed or reported as they are? How 'fair' is the media in the 'social construction of realities'?

These are pertinent questions that will be explored as the analysis unfolds in 4.1. However, the 'salience' which the media attaches to its coverage of post-conflict issues, depends on the

position which it takes in the political debate and ideological struggle of whether impunity must be ended by prosecuting war criminals or to push for reconciliation. The media can mitigate conflicts in post-conflict societies when it upholds the ideals of the functional perspective within the context of the public service model. Lynch and McGoldrick's (2005: 5) conception of 'peace journalism', which is predicated on the Galtung (1992: 141) paradigm, offers the 'conceptual and practical tools' which journalists can utilise to accordingly perform their 'public service' functions.

According to Shaw (2008: 41) it is a journalism that helps reporters and editors alike to make informed choices of what stories deserve reporting and how the reporting itself is done that provide the society at large with opportunities to consider and value non-violent responses to conflict. Moreover, Thompson's (2007: 433-444) 'responsibility to report' and Shaw's (2012: 36-42) 'human rights journalism' (see 4.1) are other models that arguably explain how the media can mitigate conflicts and sustain the ideals of democratic good governance within the functional perspective.

Thus, within this context, while developing robust peace building initiatives and sustaining the fight against impunity in war torn countries, the media can function as a conduit for post-conflict justice, reconciliation and democratic legitimacy (Thompson, 2007:349, Reporting Justice, op.cit: 2). Meanwhile, the campaign against impunity (explicated in 3.3) in the modern World was robustly rekindled by the media when it adopted the 'Holocaust' and 'Nuremberg' frames in its coverage of the horrifying atrocities committed by particularly Serbian rebels in the former Yugoslavia (Futamura, op.cit: 25, Gilboa, 2005: 28, McQuail, 2000: 343-345), leading to the establishment of the ICTY. The media can also fuel conflicts in post-conflict societies, when journalists put out hate-filled and divisive contents that are inimical to societal cohesion and stability. When this happens in a multi-ethnic post-conflict society (like Sierra Leone) another devastating conflict may ensue, further wrecking that society (Randall and Pulano, 2008: 2).

The literature on the impact of 'hate' speech on conflict and war crimes though fairly limited, has opened up fruitful avenues for further multi-disciplinary academic explorations, although,

apart from the Julius Streicher case, most of the documented examples on the subject, took place during the 1990s. Hate media played a part in exacerbating the ethnic cleansing that plunged the former Yugoslavia into horrendous civil wars (Strauss, op.cit: 179-188, McQuail, op.cit: 343-344, Volcic and Dzihana, op.cit: 8). Essentially, the Belgrade Prosecutor's Office has confirmed that war crimes trials are forth coming for journalists, who incited the commission of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia²².

The media's conflictual role in the 2007 Kenyan electoral crisis, leading to the deaths of between 1,200 and 1,500 people and the displacement of 660,000 people is another case in point (Somerville, 2010:1-2). The 'genocide' and 'ethnic cleansing' frames of the Genocide in Rwanda were quickly employed by Western and Kenyan journalists in their reportage of the whole episode (ibid). The ICTR's Media Trial, convicted Ferdinand Nahimana and Jean-Bosco Bagayagwiza of the Radio-Television Libre des Milles Collins' (RTLM) and Hassan Ngeze of the Kangura newspaper for the offences of genocide, direct and public incitement to genocide, crimes against humanity etc. (ICTR's Media Trial Judgment in Thompson, op.cit: 277-307).

The Belgian born Italian citizen, Georges Henry Joseph Ruggiu, was also sentenced to twelve (12) years imprisonment for inciting genocide. This was the most chilling call to mayhem he broadcast 'you (Tutsi) cockroaches must know you are made of flesh... we will kill you' (Rourke, 2007:289). However, the lessons of the genocide in Rwanda and the subsequent convictions of journalists for promoting ethnic conflict, has heightened the need to monitor and evaluate the operations of the media in war torn countries to prevent it being exploited in the service of ethnic and religious propaganda (Thompson, op.cit: 435). This instrumental approach emphasises training and capacity building of journalists in conflict and post-conflict zones (Price, Noll and De Luce, 2002:2). And a number of leading Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) such as ICTJ, Institute for Media Policy and Civil Society (IMPCS), Search For Common Ground (SFCG), BBC Media Action (BBCMA) etc., have devised and run media development projects in that direction. However, very little academic research has been done to evaluate the

²² <http://www.setmes.com/2012/01/10>

impacts of such training programs on media performances in conflict and post-conflict zones, including Sierra Leone.

The media in Sierra Leone, despite the numerous training sessions which have been organised for journalists since the dawn of the country's post-conflict justice process, has not shed its partisan tendencies, driven by tribal, regional and financial considerations. Politics and Press in Africa (eds. Tamba M'bayoh R. Onwumechili, C., and Nwafo, R.2000:124) catalogues how pressmen in Sierra Leone have undermined the integrity of the print media by blatantly or subtly violating professional codes of ethics. The violations were grouped as follows:

1. Serious disregard for truth and fairness and unnecessary sensationalisation, which include padding of stories.
2. Using the press for personal vendettas (including editorialising in news reports).
3. Seeking favours, gifts and other kinds of gratification in order to publish or stop the publishing of a story.
4. Taking sides, or appearing to do so, with the various competing interest groups.

The IMC's Reports between 2008 and 2012 authenticated the extent to which the above scathing and damning comments and findings about the press have continued to negatively impact the lives of Sierra Leoneans. The 2010 Report (page 9) for example, affirmed that 90% of the complaints lodged against journalists, were specifically made against newspapers' editors and reporters, on issues of the publication of false news, defamation (libel), inaccurate reports etc. The media in Sierra Leone has thus been attacked as highly partisan (biased) and unreliable, (Lincoln 2008: 14, Gutierrez, 2012:5-6) unprofessional and incapable of upholding ethical standards (IMC's Annual Reports 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011; Zack-Williams op.cit:75).

This problem of unprofessionalism characterised by utter disregard for the country's communications media ethics is largely influenced by the mass manipulative/propaganda and commodification of news models, which are the propelling forces of the conflictual perspective of the media that has the tendency to ignite a much more debilitating conflict in post-conflict

Sierra Leone. The media's conflictual role in Sierra Leone is clearly seen in its coverage of the country's patrimonial politics (shrouded in ethno-regionalism). The dominance of the 'Northern Hegemony' in every sphere of Sierra Leone's governance institutions and structures, is becoming increasingly glaring and worrisome for the 'South-Eastern Elites', who have been constantly complaining about how they have been discriminated against and marginalised in the allocation of the State's natural and structural resources on the basis of ethno-regional and political affiliations (see Appendix III^{512, 530,531}).

This North (APC)-South (SLPP) divide is so glaring that it has permeated every sphere of Sierra Leone.²³ The Southerners have continued to argue that the rate, at which Northerners are overwhelmingly appointed to very serious positions of trust across the country, is comparatively radically unparallel to how Southerners are considered for even lesser appointments. This concern of the 'Southern elites' is of equal significance to experts and analysts of conflict prevention and resolution. The subsisting literature on the causes of the war in Sierra Leone shows how the formation and dominance of the Northern biased 'Limba Hegemony' (The Akutay) in Sierra Leone's one party politics was viewed with serious political suspicion and how the need to dismantle that hegemony through revolutionary politics became problematic for Sierra Leone (Hirsch,op.cit:24-25). Ideally, no one region, ethnic group, faction or district, should dominate the dynamics of the post-conflict politics, institutions and structures of Sierra Leone. That in itself constitutes a recipe for another equally devastating conflict, since it has already widened the North-South divide and bred a burning and serious resentment that can accelerate national disintegration. Interestingly, the media has become embroiled in this ideological struggle that has the propensity to ignite and fuel another conflict in Sierra Leone.

²³ Nathaniel King's National Commission for Democracy Report on 'Citizens' Perceptions of Sierra Leone's Ethno-political and Diversity Management', 2013: iv-viii, 8- The study sought citizens' perceptions of the state of nationhood in relation to ethnicity in Sierra Leone; ascertained the reasons for an entrenched political divided as tended to be repeatedly demonstrated in voting patterns during general and presidential elections; examined how other countries in the sub-region and other African countries manage diversity; and, premised on the findings, made recommendations, which inform the country's constitutional review process.

Chapter Four

Models of Media Analysis

4.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I will critically analyse and establish the significance of the models of media analysis, which have been deployed to answer all of my five research questions. In media effects research, theories of news production and consumption, strike a chord between the content and response approaches to media analysis, (Watson, op.cit: 3-4) developed from the stimulus-response theory in the behavioural sciences (Davey, 2004:16, Cross, 2001:150). The content approach examines media content as a stimulus and the response approach considers how media content is responded to at the sociological (macro/societal) and psychological (micro/behavioural) levels (Bryant and Thompson, 2002:18; Severin and Tankard, op.cit:262-277; Watson, *ibid*). Thus, in this study, theories of news production are contextualised as content models of media analysis and those of news consumption are dubbed response models of media analysis.

Research questions 1 and 3 (see 1.3 above) are germane to the content models of media analysis explicated in 4.1 below. And research questions 2, 4 and 5 (see 1.3 above) are cognate with the response models discussed in 4.2 below. Essentially, the content and response models are discussed in line with certain fundamental observations and complexities germane with my research questions. Hence the issues triggered in this and the next chapter will form the basis for the analysis between chapters six (6) and eight (8). Moreover, a plethora of questions are posed immediately after every model is discussed and connected to the study. Such questions are raised with the aim of establishing how each model guides the enquiry into the observations and complexities that formed the basis of this study.

4.1 Content Models of Media Analysis

This section restricts itself to only the content side of the content-response prism of media analysis to determine how the 'selected media' represented the dialectics and complexities that emerged from the CDF and Taylor trials. Thus, research has shown that news is the most controversial thematic construct in media analysis (Altschull, 1990: 19- 24, Stephens, 1997:1).

This controversy is theoretically informed by two heuristics. Journalists on the one hand contend that news aims at providing objective facts to the public to enable them to make informed decisions on a variety of issues (Alozie, 2007:217).

Hence, by its content and its framing, news is a discourse which purports to present issues and events as they are, and to accordingly analyse them, in a way that is devoid of journalists' idiosyncrasies (Owen, Spencer & Thomas, 2010; Dennis & Merrill, 2002: 111; Watson, op.cit:120). Critics, on the other hand, contend that news does not objectively present and analyse issues and events fairly, but it is clothed in journalists' socio-cultural, economic and political preferences and prejudices (Fowler, 1991: 1-3, Altschull, op.cit: 23, Watson, 2003: 120-141, Severin & Tankard, 2000: 101-102, Smith, 2008:34- 41, 47-53, Entman, 2007:165). The critics' position on this contentious issue is analysed in the following arguments:

1. 'News production is a discourse anchored by the ideology of news producers or those who employ them, particularly if we are talking about the press. However, no news production is independent of the values that shape and drive the players at all levels' (Watson, ibid: 130).
2. 'The media are clearly not neutral agents. Any media entity holds a position in the ideological and political structure of a given society that will determine the approach according to which events are processed. The media do not passively describe or record news events, but actively reconstruct them, mostly on the basis of their own ideological affiliations' (Volcic and Dzihana, op.cit:15).
3. 'News is not a natural phenomenon emerging straight from 'reality', but a product. It is produced by an industry, shaped by the bureaucratic and economic structure of that industry, by the relations between the media and other industries, most importantly, by the relations with the government and other political organisations. From a broader perspective, it reflects, and in return shapes the prevailing values of a society in a particular historical context' (Fowler, op.cit: 222).

Thus, the 'reality' which audiences perceived, when exposed to media content, is a reality that is 'socially constructed' (Burger and Luckmann, 1966, Littlejohn, 1992:190) by journalists to influence audiences' perceptions about issues and events that permeate the intellectual climate of the day; that is the dominant discourses of mainstream society (Fowler, *ibid*: 1-3, Altschull, 1990: 23, Bryant and Thompson, 2002: 92-93, Severin & Tankard, *op.cit*: 93, Entman, *ibid*: 165). This presupposes that the news (the constructed reality) which is eventually produced for societal consumption is undoubtedly influenced by the construction processes (including the language in which it is clothed), which it goes through before it is disseminated (McQuail, 2002: 274, Jamieson & Waldman, 2003: xiii, Haralambos & Holborn, 2004: 841, Mautner, 2008:33).

The process begins with news gathering and selection (McQuail *ibid*: 277-284, Watson *op.cit*: 120, Dennis and Merrill *op.cit*: 113; Pridmore, 2000:16). Thus, the Galtung and Ruge's (1965: 64-91) criteria of news values, Stuart Hall's double articulation (Hall 1973, Hall, 2002: 271, West and Turner, 2004: 36), Allan Bell's attribution (Bell 1991, Watson, *op.cit*: 122), Allan Thompson's responsibility to report and Shaw's human rights journalism (Thompson, *op.cit*:433-444, Shaw, 2012: 11-42) are the news selection models, which are considered invaluable in explicating the significance of the news selection paradigm to this study. Galtung and Ruge (*op.cit*: 64-91), *inter alia*, acknowledged the importance of 'cultural determinism' and 'geographical proximity' (hereinafter referred to as geo-cultural values/ considerations), and 'elite persons', in their landmark analysis of news values.

Their model points to the sharp parallels that can be drawn between the 'geo-cultural values' of a society and the extent to which such values can influence the selection processes in news production. Their model also looks at how 'elitist' and 'influential persons', can easily make news. The responsibility to report (the new journalistic paradigm), mirrors Allan Thompson's (*op.cit*:433-444) clarion call for journalists the World over, to prioritise the reportage of particularly humanitarian issues and events, irrespective of where they may have happened. This is what Shaw (2012) has conceptualised as human rights journalism. The said models, which essentially guide Journalistic practice, dovetailed with three heuristics that are discernible in this study.

First, assuming without conceding at this stage, that the trials of the CDF leaders and Taylor, met Galtung and Ruge's (geo-cultural) threshold for news selection by the local media, could that have consequently compelled the selected media, to carry stories of the two trials, with the degree of salience, which they may have attached to them? This question can also point to the determination of whether the 'values', which underpinned the decisions made by journalists of the selected media in covering the trials, were 'socially constructed' or 'natural'. In other words, did journalists of the selected media adopt 'geo-cultural' considerations from Sierra Leone in forming their judgments about 'what' they chose to report and the 'salience' they attached to the issues reported about the CDF leaders and Taylor ?

Assuming that journalists indeed adopted 'cultural criteria' from within Sierra Leone in their reportage of the trials, did many of the tensions and ethnic divisions manifested during the decade of conflict continued to be reflected in the coverage? In other words, can the reportage of the two trials be said to be 'a continuation of war by other means'? (Markovic and Subasic, 2011: 81). Is there empirical evidence from the coverage of the CDF trial in particular, that the CDF leaders were either described as 'national heroes', 'liberators' and 'restorers of peace and democracy', or were they dubbed 'war criminals', 'butchers/hooligans', 'cannibals' and 'blood thirsty power ethnicists'? Again, assuming that the selected media paid more attention to the CDF than the Taylor trial, could that have been influenced by 'cultural determinism' or 'geographical proximity' or some other considerations that do not fall within the Galtung and Ruge's model?

The second relevance of the Galtung and Ruge model to the study may further clarify another issue which is relevant to the Taylor trial in particular. A serious contention that permeated Sierra Leone's intellectual climate, prior to, during and after the indictment and conviction of Taylor, was that he was the mastermind of the RUF rebellion. And that his affiliation with the RUF was a fundamental factor that prolonged the war. This trend of thought is discernible in the findings of virtually all the scholars, who have written extensively on Sierra Leone's quest for post-conflict justice (Berewa, op.cit: 110; Francis, op.cit: 111; Hirsch, op.cit: 15; Zack-Williams, op.cit: 21; Kabbah, 105; Gberie, op.cit: 53-60; Penfold, op.cit: 5). Furthermore, journalists who covered the Taylor trial presented him as guilty of the offences even before his

trial came to an end (see Appendix III^{12, 31, 250, 311}). Significantly, in analysing news reports of evidence in the trial the model helps to discern whether the general belief amongst scholars and CSOs in Sierra Leone that Taylor was the mastermind of the conflict was reflected in the coverage, though that was not established by the Trial Chamber II.

Third, the issue of why the global/ international media failed to pay much attention to the coverage of the CDF trial, in particular and the operations of the SCSL in general (Lang, op.cit:2), may be bolstered by Galtung and Ruge's 'geo-cultural' considerations, but contested by Thompson's responsibility to report (new journalistic paradigm) and Shaw's human rights journalism. This conception however raises several pertinent questions of note. Namely, can global/international media outlets (as a result of their strength in financial, technical, professional and human resources), comparatively 'select' and 'dispatch' well sourced, balanced and highly credible and reliable contents about the dynamics of war crimes trials, better than the local media?

Should it be contended, that the issues of war crimes trials, as mirrored by the global/ international media, are those which are being heard in countries that share the same 'geo-cultural' features, with the states and regions in which the above media outlets are incorporated? If this is so, can it then be argued that the war crimes trial of the CDF leaders and their eventual convictions, did not meet the threshold for 'news selection' to merit thorough coverage by the global/international media? Were the CDF and Taylor trials not of any significance to war crimes jurisprudence and human rights journalism? Why did the Western media only intermittently report the AFRC, RUF and CDF trials, but became very much interested in the coverage of Taylor's indictment, arrest and trial, only after the European Union Parliament and the U.S House of Representatives passed their Resolutions, calling for his extradition to the SCSL?

How can the so-called 'geo-cultural' considerations for news selection be reconciled with the 'new journalistic paradigm' (i.e. Thompson's responsibility to report and Shaw's human rights journalism)? Hence, the 'geo-cultural' considerations may guide any informed judgment about why global/international media outlets, like the BBC, VOA, RFI, Washington Post etc., paid more

attention to the war crimes trials of the ICTY, as opposed to those of the SCSL (Lang.op.cit:2). Thompson's 'new journalistic paradigm' and Shaw's human rights journalism could however serve as critical parameters to question the news selection process of the above reputable media structures. According to Shaw (op.cit:5), the national identity of journalists lulls them into prioritising 'our news' and relegating 'theirs' to the backwater. This has thus had serious implications for peace journalism and global justice.

Nevertheless, the conceptual phenomenon of 'elite persons' as a criterion for news selection in the Galtung and Ruge model, has been developed and replicated in Allan Bell's attribution model, which is also useful to this study. Bell's theoretical construct is based on the idea that issues and events that involved 'elite persons' can attract greater media coverage than those that involved ordinary people; hence 'the elites not only are the news, but they make it' (Bell, 1991, cited also in Watson). Thus, Chief Norman was the most 'elitist' Sierra Leonean, who was indicted. He was a prominent member of the SLPP and a wittingly influential political figure (Berewa, op.cit:180-182; Penfold, op.cit: 174-188; Hirsch, op.cit:53; Kabbah, op.cit: 329-331). He enjoyed overwhelming support from the South-East and even aspired to ascend to the leadership of the SLPP, even when he could not extricate himself from the tentacles of the SCSL (see Appendix III^{383, 385}).

And it appeared that his 'elitism' captured the headlines, front-pages and editorials of newspapers in Sierra Leone for the entire period for which the CDF trial subsisted.²⁴ Chief Norman wrote many letters to the international community, the UN, the SLPP and the South-Easterners on issues relative to the alleged corruption in the SCSL (see Appendix III³⁷⁸), his maltreatment in detention (see Appendix III²⁸⁹), his request to attend the 2005 National Convention of the SLPP (see Appendix III⁴⁴⁰) and his clarion call on the South-Easterners to shun President Kabbah and his Vice, Solomon Berewa, who according to him, was imposed on the SLPP as the former's successor (see Appendix III³⁷¹); a view which Berewa debunked (op.cit:181). Chief Norman's letters were widely published and analysed in the print and electronic media and they attracted CSOs comments, leading to the shaping of public opinion

²⁴See the numerous references in the publications of the 'selected media' on the frames and sub frames that involved Chief Norman in chapter six.

on the issues raised. His initial arrest and detention in Bonthe Island (see Appendix III^{143, 145, 301}), and sudden death in Senegal (see Appendix III^{101, 103}), were contentious issues that also hit the headlines and front-pages of newspapers in Sierra Leone.

Thus, Bell's attribution model can partially explain why the CDF trial attracted overwhelming media attention within Sierra Leone, and why the pieces of evidence adduced during the proceedings, were not reported as they unfolded, but would have been vociferously commented upon in the 'news' and 'views', which the selected media put out during the trial. The model can as well explain why the Liberian media may have paid the greatest attention to the Taylor trial, as opposed to the other three trials (AFRC, RUF and CDF) because Taylor was an indisputable 'elite person' when he was indicted, arrested and flown to Sierra Leone for trial. This would have influenced the news selection process of the Liberian media in the coverage of the Taylor trial, as opposed to the CDF trial, for instance.

This research examines the relationship between 'elites' opinions in Sierra Leone and media reporting. That is, how the views of the 'elites' in Sierra Leone influenced media coverage of the trials and how media reporting in turn impacted CSOs representatives' perceptions about the trials. Theoretically and conceptually, the public at large, the 'elites' and the media are very much influential in the opinion process, even though they operate at different levels. It is natural for some waves of opinion to first come from the 'elites' and then get to the entire citizenry through the media. Conversely, other waves of opinion will come from the public at large, but can be shaped by the 'elites' and the media, as a result of dramatic events and occurrences, that can produce wide and emotional responses that demand immediate actions (Mitchell, 1979:70-71, Schudson, 1996:204).

Contextually, the indictment, detention, subsequent trial and sudden death of Norman, and Taylor's asylum in Nigeria; eventual arrest, trial and conviction, immediately triggered some critical opinions, which were continually sustained by the 'elites' and the media until and after the former was buried and the latter goaled for fifty (50) years. Again, Bell's attribution model (1991), an extension of the Galtung and Ruge's paradigm, is central here. Whereas Galtung and Ruge (op.cit: 64-91) discussed the significance of 'elite persons' as one of the essential criteria

of news selection in their analysis of news worthiness (Owen, Spencer & Thomas, op.cit: 3, Holborn & Haralambos, op.cit:842); Bell's postulation emphasised the inevitability of the elites' role in the production of news. This position on the elites' centrality in news making is discernible in the dynamics of power, culture, communication and propaganda.

The 'elites' of a society are at the helm of everything. They are in the centre of the struggle for power, which is a microcosm of the dynamics of any culture (Giddens et.al. 2005: 20, Volcic and Dzihana op.cit:13). Thus, the nexus between culture and power is well documented in the existing literature (ibid: 13, Martin- Barbero, 1993:63). And the centrality of communication in the study of culture cannot be overemphasised. Invariably, communications media contents can thus be used to maintain the quest for power by propagating the ideals of the prevailing ideologies in society. Meanwhile, 'elites' opinions on national issues in Sierra Leone are arguably tainted with overt ethno- regional and political biases (see Appendix III). This contention is rooted in the fact that Sierra Leone is a multi-ethnic post-conflict country that is divided on tribal and regional lines. That is why the country's body politic is fraught with tribal and regional divides (Hirsch, op.cit: 24-25, Penfold, op.cit: 25). In fact, ethnicity is a socio-cultural problem that is intertwined with African politics (Chazan, Mortimer et.al, 1992: 106-116).

In Sierra Leone, most of the people in the South-East are affiliated to the SLPP; whilst majority of those in the North-West are considered supporters of the APC (Kandeh, 1992:81-99; Hirsch; ibid; Penfold, ibid; see Appendix III^{508, 526, 542}; see also the 2002, 2007 and 2012 Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Results). And it now appears that ethno-political and regional tensions have crept into the operations of every functional institution and structure in Sierra Leone, including the media (see Appendix III^{508, 526, 542}). Invariably, 'elite persons' whose opinions are shaped by ethno-political prejudices, embedded in discourses, often pass-on such biased discourses to news producers as news. This strong argument is substantiated by the following publications made on diverse dates between 2003 and 2013:

1. 'Ahead of Convention... Limba Rebellion in APC Planned' (Front-page headline; Independent Observer, Wednesday, May 1, 2013)

2. 'Political Divide May Cripple APC... As Limbas Plan Rebellion' (Special Commentary, Independent Observer, Wednesday, May 1, 2013)
3. 'Mendes Are Stupid'- Koachie (Front-page headline; Unity Newspaper, Monday, June 25, 2012)
4. 'Norman belongs to 'Torpoi' Family'('Torpoi' is a vocabulary in Mende, denoting the palm tree, which is the symbol of the SLPP) (For Di People, Wednesday, April 2, 2003)
5. 'Sitting in his Bonthe Island Prison Cell, Hinga Norman, former war lord of the disbanded ethnic Kamajor militia army will have enough time pondering about the war he created in Sierra Leone on becoming Deputy Defence Minister' (For Di People, Friday, April 11,2003)
6. 'Kamajor Doctor Harass Themne Tribal Head' (front-page headline). 'He said that some Kamajors had threatened to kill him during the 1998 interregnum as he was branded as a junta collaborator' (For Di People,Thursday, September 16, 2004)
7. 'Kambia Disowns Kabbah!' 'Nor Tha A Kom Kor' (headline) (This Themne headline is interpreted to mean that the Northern people of Kambia district did not accept President Kabbah because he was not born in Kambia) (For Di People, Friday, September 17, 2003)
8. '...the Kamajors captured six men whom he identified as palm wine tappers *belonging to the Limba tribe*. These people he said, the Kamajors accused of collaborating with the juntas.Three of them were killed by firing while the others were hacked to death with machetes' (For Di People, Monday, September 13, 2004)
9. 'Regionalism: Kamajors Killed 150 Northerners'-Witness tells Special Court(For Di People, Tuesday, February 15, 2005)
10. 'We were forced to mine' (headline). '...TF2048 testified about how the Limbas, Themnes,and Lokos were targeted for killing by the Kamajors in Tongo' (Awoko, February 24, 2005)
11. 'Limbas marginalised in favour of Themnes ... for APC positions in the North' (front-page headlines, Independent Observer, Thursday, May 2, 2013)
12. '...he had seen no group of people as stupid as the Mendes' (Politico Newspaper, May 7-8,2013)

The above examples point to how ethno-regional/political considerations can impact the coverage of issues and events by the media in Sierra Leone. Bell's attribution model can also bolster the Galtung and Ruge model, to answer the question of whether the CDF trial was 'a continuation of war by other means'. The question is necessitated by the fact that the CDF trial polarised civil society on ethno-regional/political lines (Kamara, 2013). Both models should be considered quite useful to determine whether the conflicting perspectives that polarised civil society about the need to try or not to try the CDF leaders, largely driven by ethno-regional/political biases, was reflected in the media's representation of the trial.

Stuart Hall's 'double articulation' model (Hall 1973, Watson, op.cit:122) establishes the synergy between formal and ideological news values. The former, according to Hall, mirrors the news producers' perceptions on issues to the intellectual climate of the day; which, in the case of Sierra Leone, is principally characterised by ethno-regional/political discourses. This model should again test the extent to which (if at all) journalists' perceptions and coverage of the trials were shaped by the ethno-regional/political climate of the day and hence validating or invalidating whether the news selection paradigm and its concomitant models, espoused in this analysis, have indeed had any effects on the contents of what was produced for societal consumption.

The fundamental question that arises at this stage is that if the coverage was tainted with ethno-regional/political biases, how can such biases be detected in the media's discursive treatment of the issues that emerged from the trials? This question leads to the consideration of framing as a theory and how it can impact the content of news production (Jamieson and Waldman, op.cit: xiii). Thus, framing's theoretical and methodological dimensions and its relevance to this study, is thoroughly explored in the next chapter. However, ethno-regional/political biases are intertwined with the prevailing political ideologies in Sierra Leone. And ideologies in media discourses as 'candidates' for news selection are conspicuous in Hall's double articulation model discussed above.

The synergy between ideology and news selection, justifies the significance of discourse analyses as a theoretically and methodologically sound model for this study. Discourse analysis should be helpful, both in identifying the 'semantic aura' (Mautner, 2008:48, Fairclough, 2002:

308-311, Richardson, 2007) of newspaper texts and for use in deconstructing the semi-structured interviews with journalists, always bearing in mind that 'analysis has to take into account ...the institutional frames of a specific context or situation' (Wodak, 2008:2). The other concept of news production which can impact the content of news is agenda-setting, which also has its theoretical and methodological implications that will be explored in my methodological frameworks chapter, enhancing the model's usefulness to the study.

While the agenda- setting model mirrors the 'salience of specific issues and events', to direct the public to pay attention to them (in this case the dispatches about the evidence of the CDF and Taylor trials, which the selected media reported to capture the attention of CSOs' representatives); framing deals with the 'presentation of such issues and events', to direct the public to perceive them, through lenses coloured by the perceptions of the journalists, who reported the trials (de Vreese, 2005:51-53, McCombs, 2005:544; Jamieson and Waldman, op.cit: xiii; Iyengar, 2010:276). The relevance of the agenda-setting model is seen in the fact that it can direct identification of the main issues that emerged from the trials as made 'salient' by the selected media. Entman (op.cit:53) defines 'salience' as 'making a piece of information more noticeable, meaningful, or memorable to audiences. An increase in 'salience' enhances the probability that receivers will perceive the information, discern meaning and thus process it, and store it in memory'.

Kiousis' (2004:71-87) conceptualisation of 'media salience' which is based on the trilogy of attention (the number of news stories devoted to a particular topic), prominence (page placement, size of headline, amount of time or space, appearance in the lead etc.) and valence (the amount of conflict in a story, its overall positive or negative tone etc.) opens up a fruitful avenue for a thorough analysis of the pattern of coverage of the trials, giving an indication of what may have influenced the coverage of the trials as framed by the selected media.

Thus, the said trilogy can serve as a potent framing device in revealing the 'media agenda' through which the coverage of the trials can be referenced. The above analysis clearly shows the content models of media analysis that are central to this study, and the extent to which

they have been contextualised to link research questions 1 and 3 to the appropriate methodological framework (content analysis) that can be used to lucidly answer them.

4.2 Response Models of Media Analysis

Whereas research questions 1 and 3 seek to explore how the selected media represented the CDF and Taylor trials, research questions 2, 4 and 5 specifically focus on how CSOs' representatives perceived the coverage. This presupposes that research questions 2, 4 and 5 can be intellectually answered when they are linked to the appropriate existing response theories and methods of media analysis. Thus, this analysis entirely focuses on the response side of the content-response prism. Just as there are a plethora of content models, so there are numerous response models of media analysis; hence a researcher's choice of models largely or entirely depends on the specificities of his/her research questions.

The framing paradigm is intertwined with the question of how framing influences thinking-a question that is central to the study of the response models. Entman (op.cit:53) has asserted that the frames in a communication text do not necessarily guarantee their influence in audiences' thinking. However, de Vreese (op.cit:52) analysed framing's effects on audiences from the standpoints of the individual and the society: the individual consequences could alter attitudes about an issue based on exposure to certain frames. And the societal consequences could shape social level processes such as political socialisation, decision-making and collective actions. This trend of thought is continued in Scheufele's (op.cit:305-308) framing's typology, which is based on an analysis of frames at the macroscopic or sociological level (i.e. framing's overwhelming effects on society at large) and at the microscopic or psychological level (i.e. framing's effects on the individual's attitudes and behaviour). Thus, 'the accepted verdict in academic circles until quite recently was that media influence over public opinion amounted to minimal consequences' (Iyengar, 2010:273).

This raises the question about whether media frames can indeed have the theoretical implications for audiences, which de Vreese and Scheufele have identified. However, the advent of the new media and the development of the notions of 'audiences fragmentation' and

‘selective-exposure’, have given credence to the conclusion that media messages can merely reinforce prior predispositions (Iyengar, *ibid*:286). This theoretical construct has therefore formed the basis for establishing whether in consuming the news, CSOs’ representatives opted for publications that suit their pre-existing ‘biases’ or those that challenge them.

Even though Entman (*op.cit*:51-54) posited that framing has a common effect on large portions of audiences, according to de Vreese (*op. cit*: 60), the shared-body of knowledge in the framing literature, has largely evaluated media frames without any thorough assessment of their implications for audiences. This assertion points to a grey area in the framing literature that is intertwined with this research which, *inter alia*, examines the implications of media framing of war crimes trials for audiences in Sierra Leone (see research questions 2, 4 and 5) and hence contributing towards filling the void, about the analysis of framing’s implications for the audiences (Sierra Leoneans), who followed the media’s coverage of both trials.

It is indisputably true that this research hinges on the shared-body of knowledge of the state of media effects research in the age of the new media. Since its commencement in the early twentieth century, different paradigms have been invoked to explain the state of media effects research (Griffin, 2006:395-406). Invariably, the existing response paradigms were developed to establish how media content can actually impact the individual and society.

In this era of post-modernism, in which media content is polysemic (Haralambos and Holborn, *op.cit*: 182) and audiences can interpret such content differently (on the basis of their ethno-regional/political biases for instance), it becomes very important to establish whether the media succeeded in getting CSOs’ representatives to ‘only’ and ‘principally’ focus on those issues, which the media ‘selected’ (news selection) and made ‘salient’ (agenda-setting), during the coverage of the trials. In other words, alluding to even the structured interpretative paradigm (*Ibid*: 185, Lull, 1980: 179-209, Lindlof, 1988: 81-107, Littlejohn, *op.cit*:232-234 & 350), there is an interest in discovering whether the ‘frames’ adopted by the media, influenced the ‘preferred reading’ of media texts by CSOs’ representatives.

Chapter Five

Methodological Frameworks

5.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I deal with the methodological frameworks (a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods) that have been chosen for the study. Research questions 1 and 3 (see 1.3 above) are to be answered by analysing the contents of the 'selected media' on the CDF and Taylor trials, for the period for which this study is designed, with the aid of the content models of media analysis explicated in 4.1 above. So content analysis is the very first communications research tool, which is considered appropriate for this study. The content analysis is informed by framing and discourse analyses and a series of semi-structured interviews, with the journalists, who actually covered both trials.

Unlike the content analysis, which has its qualitative and quantitative dimensions (Berelson, 2002:200-9; McIntyre, 2002:87) (see 6.1 and 6.2 and 7.1 and 7.2 below), the discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews, are the pure qualitative communications research tools (Mautner, 2008:38-48; Treadwell, 2011: 164-166; Breakwell, Hammond et.al. 2004:239) that aided the study leading to the answers to research questions 1 and 3 (see chapters six and seven). As such, all three research methods (content and discourse analyses and semi-structured interviews), constitute the second, third and fourth communications research tools, which are exclusively designed to answer research questions 1 and 3 (see 1.3 above). Research questions 2, 4 and 5 are to be answered by analysing the impacts (effects), if any, which media coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials, has had on the perceptions and attitudes of CSOs' representatives in post-conflict Sierra Leone, with the aid of the response models of media analysis discussed in 4.2 above.

The perceptions and attitudes of CSOs' representatives in post-conflict Sierra Leone are gauged by ethnographic surveys (group discussions) and the distribution of self-administered questionnaires in all four (4) regions of Sierra Leone. Invariably, whereas group discussions are a qualitative research tool in communications media (Treadwell, op.cit:167), the distribution of the self-administered questionnaires, reflect a component of quantitative analysis (Breakwell,

Hammond et. al., op.cit:239). The issues relating to the conduct of the group discussions in all the regions of Sierra Leone are established in 5.6 below. And the logistics relating to the administration/dissemination of the questionnaires are discussed in 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9 below.

5.1 Framing and Discourse Analyses: Theoretical & Methodological Implications

The significance of framing and discourse analyses to this study has already been pointed out in 4.1 above. Their theoretical and methodological frameworks are indeed the basis for this study's analysis (see chapters six, seven and eight). There are a number of theoretical and methodological issues about framing and discourse analyses, which one needs to examine here, and point to how they have aided the study. Framing, or second-level agenda-setting (McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, and Rey, 1997: 131-166; McCombs, 2005: 546), is a central concept in communications media effects research, which is still plagued with notable controversies (Scheufele, 2000:298). First, there is the rationale to distinguish between the theoretical and methodological dimensions of framing. This will help to clarify issues in this study that are relevant to framing as a theory, and as a communications research tool; and how it would lead to the findings in relation to research questions 1 and 3 (see 1.3 above).

Theoretically, framing, inter alia, establishes the nexus between media content and response theories, and thus mirrors how the media can shape public opinion (de Vreese, op.cit:51). Methodologically, framing discerns and interprets the 'values' and 'meanings' conveyed in media contents (Alozie, op.cit: 217; Pan and Kosicki, 2003:57). Thus, the synergy between the content and response prism in communications media analysis (see 4.1 and 4.2) evolves from the basic assumption that media content is a 'discourse' containing a 'preferred meaning' (Straubhaar & LaRose, 1996:37), which is calculated to bring about a 'preferred reading' (Gandy, 2001:365) into the minds of audiences. Essentially, an understanding of the interplay between the content and response prism in media analysis can unravel the 'preferred meanings', which the media encoded in its discursive treatments of the heuristics and complexities that emerged from the CDF and Taylor trials; and simultaneously guide the process of gauging the 'preferred readings', which CSOs representatives perceived from the coverage. Hence a number of questions germane to the principal thrust of this study can be

raised at this stage. What were the 'preferred meanings' embedded in the contents, which the 'selected media' published on the CDF and Taylor trials for the period for which this study is designed? Did CSOs representatives interpret (read) the said contents in line with the 'preferred meanings' which the 'selected media' embedded in their frames? These are pertinent questions that will be addressed as the content and discourse analyses unfold in chapters six, seven and eight.

And if there were 'overt' or 'covert' ethno-regional/political biases in the coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials, for example, they can be 'unearthed' when a thorough content analysis is undertaken with the aid of framing bolstered by discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews with the journalists, who covered the said trials. Entman (ibid:52) famously conceptualised framing as 'to select some items of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communicating text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and/or treatment recommendation for the item described'. Entman's theorisation also dovetailed with what de Vreese (op.cit:52-53) has theorised as the 'broad', as opposed to the 'narrow' theorisation or the 'reversed information phenomenon approach', which is largely attributed to the seminal work of Kahneman and Tversky (Entman,op.cit:54).

Scheufele (op.cit:309) on the other hand, emphasised the 'narrow' theorisation and contended that 'framing influences how audience members think about issues, not by making aspects of the issues salient, but by invoking interpretative schemas that influence the interpretation of incoming information. In other words, framing is predicated on the assumption that subtle changes in the words of the description of a situation might affect how audience members interpret that situation. Even though some other theoretical arguments support the use of Scheufele's 'narrow' theorisation in framing research (a mere extension of the Kahneman and Tversky's construct), this study adopts the 'broad' theorisation because the issues and complexities that emerged during the CDF and Taylor trials, cannot be reduced to two identical scenarios, based on the 'wordings of questions', as Kahneman and Tversky did (Entman,

op.cit:54). This raises the second issue about framing theoretical and methodological dimensions that is very important to this study.

The third and fourth issues that are rooted in Entman's 'broad' theorisation, and simultaneously relevant to this study, are the two most essential features of framing: 'selection' and 'salience'. 'Selection' as a characteristic of framing is not unconnected with the 'news selection' paradigm discussed in 3.1 and 4.1 above. Also, 'salience' is the underpinning notion of 'first-level agenda-setting' (McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, and Rey, op.cit: 131-166; McCombs, op.cit: 546) explicated in the same 3.1 and 4.1 above. The interconnectivity between 'selection' and 'salience' as framing fundamental attributes is arguably seen in the fact that, though journalists purport to be independent and objective in their coverage of issues and events, they can shape their outcomes by choosing what to report (news selection) and consciously or unconsciously attaching utmost importance (salience, first- level agenda- setting) to the selected items as reported (see 3.1 and 4. 1 above).

This is explained by the simple fact that, the emphasis that is put on certain stories or some aspects of some other stories (and the extent to which others are marginalised), coupled with the manner in which they are presented, justifies the argument that they are 'primed' (Bryant and Thompson, op.cit: 77& 82; Entman, 2007: 164-165; Severin and Tankard, op.cit:85 & 88) in such a way as to elicit particular responses from audiences (in this case to shape post-conflict opinions in democratic Sierra Leone). Thus, did the 'selected media' select (news selection) and make salient (agenda-setting) issues and events that promote war crimes jurisprudence at any stage or throughout the CDF and Taylor trials? Did they select and make salient issues and events relating to the prosecutorial over the non-prosecutorial approach to TJ (vice versa) in post-conflict Sierra Leone? Did they select and make salient issues and events that reflect their 'ethno-regional/political biases' in their reportage of the said trials? These questions will be addressed, on the basis of empirical findings, in the analysis in chapters six, seven and eight.

Essentially, de Vreese's taxonomy (op.cit:54-55) of 'issue-specific' and 'generic frames' and his 'inductive' and 'deductive' methodological frameworks (ibid: 53-54) for frames identifications in media dispatches, are also adopted for purposes of this study. Hence, they constitute the fifth

and sixth issues about framing theoretical and methodological dimensions that aided this study. Thus, frames that are particularly relevant to specific issues and events are characterised as ‘issue-specific frames’; and those that resonate with different topics across time and space are dubbed ‘generic frames’. The ‘inductive approach’ frowns at analysing media dispatches with *a priori* defined frames in mind. The frames could emerge from the material during the course of analysis, but the ‘deductive methodological framework’ investigates frames that are defined and operationalised prior to the investigation (de Vreese, op.cit:53-54). The following paragraph thus contains the reason for the adoption of the ‘generic frames’ taxonomy as opposed to that of the ‘issue-specific’ frames.

The seemingly universal efforts to propagate (through the international and intra-national media) the legal ideals of ‘individual criminal responsibility’ and ‘universal jurisdiction’ in relation to the conduct of war crimes trials are calculated to end impunity and uphold the rule of law on a global scale. These ‘generic issues’ in the contemporary World are not restricted to the Sierra Leonean context. Therefore, adopting the ‘issue-specific frames taxonomy’ in analysing media coverage of the proceedings of an international tribunal, whose dynamics transcend the cultural specificities of Sierra Leone will surely be guilty of a naive media miscalculation, and war crimes jurisprudence for that matter; hence the need for the adoption of the ‘generic frames typology’ in this study.

Iyengar’s ‘broad’ theorisation of frames into ‘episodic’ (1991: 136-137, 2011:273-289) (the presentation of issues and events as they are, without any background information about the reason for their occurrences, how they can be addressed and how responsibilities for such occurrences can be accordingly attributed) and ‘thematic’ (the presentation of issues and events in a clear contextual manner), can aid the clarity of the discourses and analyses on ‘generic frames’. This can also be clearly seen in the succeeding paragraph. Apparently, the media’s external environment and the internal dynamics of news organisations, almost always make it implausible for them to thoroughly contextualise their reportage, giving it the background, depth and requisite information, which audiences can rely on in forming their opinions and judgments about issues of national and international importance.

Thus, it appears that the brand of sensational journalism (one that hardly upholds ethical standards), being practised in Sierra Leone has made it somewhat difficult for journalists to embark on thorough 'thematic' reporting. It appears that their coverage of national and even international issues and events is characterised by 'episodic' reportage. If this is so, did it reflect in their coverage of particularly the CDF and Taylor trials? Answer(s) to such a pertinent question will be addressed in the analysis in chapters six, seven and eight. Regarding the methodological approaches for 'frames identification' (the sixth issue), both the 'inductive' and 'deductive' methods have been adopted for this study. However, the use of the latter is predicated on the weaknesses of the former. That is, the former is intellectually scorned as it relies on too small a sample and the difficulty of it being replicated across time and space, but the latter can clearly be replicated in cross-cultural studies (de Vreese, *ibid*: 53-55).

The 'inductive approach' was adopted to do the initial dipstick study which was an analysis of the coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials, undertaken between 2011 and 2012, without any *a priori* defined frames in mind, for the purposes of my RS4 Transfer Report. Notwithstanding its shortcomings, it has provided a solid foundation and evidence for the use of the 'deductive approach', which is the methodological base of this study. After the dipstick analysis, I identified and developed a number of frames, which constituted the frameworks through which the agenda of the 'selected media' in relation to the trials can be referenced. The frames were developed in consonance with Cappella and Jamieson's (1997:47& 89) criteria of media frames- 'a news frame must have identifiable conceptual and linguistic characteristics; it should be commonly observable in journalistic practice; it must be possible to distinguish the frame reliably from other frames; and it must have representational validity'.

A number of conceptual devices have been developed to guide researchers in discerning frames when working with either the 'inductive' or 'deductive' approaches. McQuail (*op.cit*: 343-344) considers 'the use of certain words or phrases, contextual references, pictures or films, and sources'. Entman (*op.cit*: 52) alludes to 'the presence or absence of certain key words, stock phrases, stereotyped images, sources of information, and sentences that provide thematically reinforcing clusters of facts and judgments'. Tankard (2001:101) emphasises the

importance of 'headlines, subheads, photos, photos caption, leads, source selection, quotes selection, pull quotes, logos, statistics and charts , including statements and paragraphs'. Thus, I adopted the said conceptual framing devices in both the initial 'dipstick study' and the 'substantive analysis' (see chapters six, seven and eight), when identifying and developing the frames that emerged from the content analysis.

Perhaps the most controversial question that is central in the framing literature, which is quite useful to this research (the seventh issue), revolves around the very factors that mostly influence the framing attitudes of journalists. This question supposedly strikes a chord among the 'news selection' models discussed in 4.1 above. Meanwhile, relying on Allan and Zelizer (2004), Herman and Chomsky (1988), Carruthers (2000, 2004), McLaughlin (2002) and Keeble (2009), Shaw (2009:39) affirms that 'national identity', 'political economy' and 'cultural subjectivities', are the main factors that largely influence the framing attitudes of journalists in their reportage of conflicts and draws sharp parallels between 'framing' and 'cultural biases'; validating particularly the Galtung and Ruge, Bell and Hall's models of news worthiness mentioned in 4.1 above.

Entman's characterization (2007 op.cit:163-166) of framing, agenda- setting and priming, under the integrating conception of 'bias', as a methodological framework, inter alia, justifies the validity of 'bias' as a conceptual tool for future research and also answers the question about the factors that mostly influence the framing attitudes of journalists in covering issues and events. His conceptual criteria for 'bias' are seen in the argument that:

...the pattern of news slant must skew persistently across time, message dimensions, and media outlets in favour of one side of the political debate. Therefore, content analysis should be informed by explicit theory linking patterns of framing in the media text to predictable priming and agenda setting effects on audiences; hence when unmoored by such underlying theory, measures and conclusions of media bias are suspect (Entman, *ibid*:163).

Several important questions of note would emerge from this study that could be answered with the aid of the said methodological framework. For example, did the patterns of ‘news slant’ of the ‘selected media’ in covering the trials (CDF and Taylor) ‘skew persistently’ in favour of the defendants or the prosecution for the period for which this study is designed? Can traces of ‘ethno-regional/political biases’ be discerned in the ‘news slant’ of any or all of the ‘selected media’ that covered the trials? Did that also reflect in the ‘message dimensions’ (editorials, commentaries, articles and highly opinionated pieces) of any of the ‘selected media’ during both or either of the trials?

My discourse analysis can augment the study of the framing of the two trials, by pointing to how the ‘language’ (as used in the identifiable frames analysed in chapters six, seven and eight) was instrumental in constructing mainstream discourses about the trials, as projected by the ‘selected media’ and to challenge such discourses through deconstruction (Mautner, *ibid*: 33). This can be done by identifying patterns in the choice of words as embedded in the numerous publications of the ‘selected media’ for the period for which the research is designed. Words can have ‘unequivocally negative (or positive) semantic load’, depending on how they are used in sentences (Mautner, *ibid*: 38). ‘Figures’ (numbers) are also important in discourse analysis because of the ‘rhetorical effects’ which they can have in the interpretation of the contents within the frames (*ibid*: 38-39). Thus, these are all important discourse indicators that aided the deconstruction of the meanings embedded in the texts.

5.2 The Sample Frame and Size for the Content Analysis

The three newspapers chosen for this – For Di People, Standard Times and Awoko – (sample size) have been chosen from Sierra Leone’s print media landscape (sample frame) for three main reasons, namely: (1) they are the highest circulation papers in Sierra Leone, (2) they have the most influence on ‘informed opinion’, (Foundation Hirondelle, 2008; IMC’s 2010 Report) and (3) between them, it appears that they devoted the most coverage to the trials.²⁵

²⁵ Interview with Peter Anderson, SCSL Information Officer on the 26th July 2011.

5.3 The Selected Media

This section briefly examines the ideologies of the selected media. This background information may guide the analysis on whether the ethno-regional and political orientations and inclinations of the owners of the papers and/or their reporters (see 4.1 for the critics' analysis of news), are reflected in the coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials. I will hereafter deal with the papers in the order of years of commencement of publication.

5.3.1 For Di People (FDP)

FDP was inaugurated in 1984 during the one-party oligarchy of the APC. The paper sustained highly critical debates on national issues and dissenting views against the APC, until it was deposed by the NPRC. The paper's proprietor and editor, Paul Kamara, was a staunch critic of the NPRC junta, but the junta subsequently made him a Minister of Lands, before it relinquished power in 1996. During the new democratic dispensation, the paper described itself as a true defender of multi-party democracy, justice and human rights (see the paper's motto). And it was one of the leading pro-democracy newspapers that opposed the AFRC junta when it seized power from the SLPP in 1997.

The paper's uncompromising stance against militarism and its unrelenting quest for democracy fetched its editor three international accolades in journalism and human rights between 1997 and 2002; to wit, the International Press Directory Freedom of the Press Golden Award (1997), the International Editor of the Year Award (1998) and the Northcote Parkinson Fund for Civil Courage Award (2002)²⁶. The paper became critical of the SLPP under the Kabbah administration. It published some unsubstantiated stories that were highly critical of the SLPP and some of its high-profile functionaries. The following publications could account for this:

1. 'Kabbah Drags Salone Mandela before Media Court' (Wednesday 5th May, 2004)
2. 'Kabbah Strikes Paul Kamara' (Wednesday 12th May, 2004)
3. 'Kabbah and the 1967 Cocoa Deal' (1st, 6th, 7th, 8th, 9th October, 2003)
4. 'Between Constitutionality and a Convict President (ibid)

²⁶Interview with Paul Kamara, Thursday, December 13, 2012

5. 'Kabbah is deceitful and unappreciative of those who fought for his restoration' (Tuesday 18th March, 2003).

Paul Kamara was indicted and jailed, pursuant to sections 26 and 27 of the Public Order Act, No.46 of 1965, for knowingly and maliciously publishing defamatory articles, calling former President Kabbah, a *'true convict'* and a *'government functionary who was unfit to hold public office, because of his notoriously corrupt tendencies'* (For Di People, *ibid*). He spent six months in jail and was released when the Court of Appeal quashed his conviction. The Court of Appeal held that the Trial Judge (Justice A.B. Rashid) misdirected himself and erred in law and facts in reaching at the conclusion that led to his conviction (see Court of Appeals judgment in the case of Ahmed Tejan Kabbah v Paul Kamara). He was later convicted of the same offences when he libeled the Honourable Justice Tolla Thompson of Sierra Leone's Supreme Court, calling him *'a corrupt'* (FDP, Wednesday, 26th May, 2004) and *'biased judge'* (FDP, Wednesday, 26th May, 2004), *'who had squandered thousands of U.S dollars, meant for football development in Sierra Leone'* (see the case of Justice Tolla Thompson v Paul Kamara).

He served his sentence and his physical possessions were also confiscated and sold to meet the cost and damages, which the Court awarded Justice Tolla Thompson, under the Defamation Act, No.32 of 1961, which deals with the civil aspect of defamation (see the short title of the statute). Paul Kamara (a Northerner and Themne) alongside other Northern journalists (Mohammed Gibril Sesay, Abu Bakarr Turay, Su Thoronka, Oumar Farouk Sesay and Ibrahim Sorie Sesay), consistently covered the CDF and Charles Taylor trials. Jia Kangbai (a Southerner) and Tatafway Tumoe (an Easterner) were also Kamara's staff writers that paid greater attention to particularly the CDF trial. Even though Kamara is now a minister, he still controls the paper's editorial policy.

5.3.2 Standard Times (ST)

ST hit the newsstands on June 6, 1994. Its Managing Editor and Proprietor, Philip Neville, is winner of the International Journalist Award in 1999, a Westerner and a Creole, and owner of the Media One Centre, but the paper's longest serving editors, Ibrahim Karim-Sie and Augustine

Beecher (now deceased), are South-Easterners. Also, most of the paper's journalists (Theophilus Gbenda, Mohamed Abu aka Amadi Abadi, Joseph Fomolo, Mohamed Issa, Abdul Kposowa and Kamour Ndullu) that extensively covered the CDF trial were South-Easterners. The paper began its operations during the dark days of the NPRC. The paper's motto is 'Forward with Times'. ST was one of the first newspapers to demonstrate its uncompromising stance against the AFRC/RUF junta. ST became a target when the junta invaded Freetown on January 6, 1999. The paper's News Editor, Paul Abu Mansaray, alongside his four children, were brutally murdered in a church.

Mustapha Sesay, a Senior Staff Writer and one time SLAJ Secretary- General, had his left eye gouged out. Philip Neville's house and vehicles were set ablaze and Karim-Sie's daughter was kidnapped and was never seen again²⁷. Notwithstanding the paper's irreparable loss and misfortunes during the war years, it served as a conduit for the agitation of a peaceful negotiated settlement of the conflict. Even after the signing of the LPA, the paper monitored the operations of both the TRC and the SCSL, and commented on the pieces of evidence, which emerged from the trials. Virtually all the South-Eastern journalists (mentioned above) left the paper shortly before the conduct of the 2007 elections. The paper's pre-2007 elections publications and those that came out between the inter-electoral periods of 2007 and 2012 seemed to have contained nuances that skewed towards the APC.

5.3.3 Awoko

Awoko hit the newsstands in August, 1998, shortly after the restoration of the SLPP. It prides itself on the philosophy of 'service to the people'; a philosophy that simultaneously defends the ideals of democracy and mirrors government's attention to the wishes and aspirations of the people of Sierra Leone²⁸. The paper started-off its operations as a partnership that had Kelvin Lewis {former Radio France International (RFI) and Voice of America (VOA) correspondent} as Editor and Lead Partner, Joseph Rahall as Financial Manager and Co-partner, and David Tam-Bayor as Assistant Editor and Co-partner (Interview, *ibid*).

²⁷ Interview with Philip Neville, 7th August, 2013

²⁸ Interview with Kelvin Lewis, Wednesday, December 12, 2012

The paper went through a lean phase, but its turning point came with its coverage of the execution of twenty-four (24) AFRC junta soldiers, on 24th October, 1998, convicted of treason against the SLPP Government. Since then, Awoko has been one of the leading newspapers in the country (see 5.2). It has won many IMC's awards for professional and fair reportage (Interview, *ibid*). Awoko was also instrumental in sustaining the debates about the transitional justice issues that permeated the intellectual climate of post-conflict Sierra Leone; devoting considerable time, space, and resources in the coverage of all the trials of the SCSL. Both Kelvin Lewis and Betty Milton (a staff writer) were consistent in covering the proceedings of the SCSL.

5.4 Approaching the Content Analysis

Content analysis is a multidimensional-sociological research method that critically evaluates human communication to unravel its manifest meaning (McIntyre, *op.cit*:87, Berelson, *op.cit*:201). The method's flexibility is evident in the fact that it can be adopted in studies of qualitative and quantitative analysis. Hence, as mentioned in 5.1 above, this study invokes content analysis as a tool of qualitative and quantitative research. Generically, the content models of media analysis discussed in 4.1 above (though qualitative) are a form of content analysis models, because they are principally invoked in the study of media contents (Treadwell, *op.cit*:177) that are intertwined with two war crimes trials.

However, in communications research, 'content analysis implies a quantitative approach and series of specific steps aimed at ensuring systematic sampling, coding and counting of media content' (Treadwell, *ibid*:177). The content analysis spans over five years, making it somewhat difficult to present the entire picture of media coverage of the trials. Relying on the generalisation that communication research observations are inevitably 'selective' and 'incomplete' (Treadwell, *op.cit*:7), I have thought it imperative to devise a random sampling method focusing on media coverage of the pre-trial, trial and post-trial phases of the CDF leaders and President Taylor.

I have selected at least nine months period of the reportage of the 'selected media' during each phase and subjected them to a thorough content analysis (qualitative and quantitative),

establishing the frames employed, the discourse used and the pattern of coverage of the proceedings of the SCSL, to answer the questions how 'the selected media' represented the CDF and Taylor trials. The timeframe of this study conforms to Mautner's prescription for analysing a court trial by using time as a criterion for identifying and describing 'discursive representations' (Mautner, op.cit:37). Essentially, the frames employed and the discourses used by the above newspapers in reporting the trials should give an indication of whether there were visible convergences and/or divergences in their coverage.

Invariably, the framing and discourse analysis are entirely qualitative. However, quantitatively, media coverage of the trials have been classified (coded) into 'news', 'views', and 'unclassified stories'. 'News' presupposes the journalists' position of what news is as explicated in 4.1 above. 'Views' are grouped as editorials, opinions, commentaries and articles on the issues that emerged from the trials. 'Unclassified stories' can neither be factored into the news taxonomy nor can they be said to be views in their entirety; hence they are neither news nor views. This classification should reveal the extent (if at all) to which journalists attempted to separate their 'views' from 'news' of the trials, and the degree to which they strove to uphold the idealised norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy'.

This dialectic is important and central to this study, because the media in Sierra Leone has been attacked as highly partisan (biased) and unreliable (M'bayoh et.al 2000: 124, Lincoln 2008: 14, Gutierrez, 2012:5-6), unprofessional and incapable of upholding ethical standards (IMC's Annual Reports 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010 and 2011; Zack-Williams op.cit:75). Thus, the analysis should attempt to prove or disprove the media's critics' (referenced above) allegations that media coverage of national issues in Sierra Leone is largely, or purely, characterised by ethno-regional/political partiality. To identify the frames employed and the discourses used in the numerous publications of the 'selected media' for the period under investigation, I examined every page of the three newspapers and singled-out all the stories on the CDF and Taylor trials, discarding those that fall out of the timeframe and phases of the study, and subjecting those relevant to critical evaluation and analysis. Since qualitative analysis calls for sequential and multiple readings of texts (Alozie, op.cit:215), I devised an approach of quadruple readings of

the selected publications. The first two readings were quite generic and calculated to discern the main issues in the stories, whilst making descriptive notes on their contents. The third reading was more focused and attentive. I identified a number of thematic issues that formed the frameworks of the fourth and final reading, which was based on a critical analysis of the 'discernible messages' embedded in the publications, pointing to how the 'selected media' represented the CDF and Taylor trials; the golden thread that runs through research questions 1 and 3.

Bearing in mind that the procedures of any content analysis research should be explicit, precise, and replicable to enable other researchers verify the results of the findings, I adopt Treadwell's (op.cit:179-180) seven steps of a typical content analysis:

1. Develop research questions about communications contents (research questions 1 and 3).
2. Define the content to be analysed ('News', 'Views' and 'Unclassified stories').
3. Sample the universe of the contents (the total reportage of the 'selected media' for the period for which the research is designed).
4. Select units for coding (the units for coding are referenced as 'N', 'V' and 'US', representing 'News', 'Views', and 'Unclassified Stories', respectively).
5. Develop a coding scheme (the coding scheme is developed by representing the coded units alongside the timeframes of the study in tabular and graphical forms).
6. Assign each occurrence of a unit in the sample to a code in the coding scheme (the frequency of each of the coded units ('N', 'V' and 'US') in the sample as factored into the tables and graphs).

7. Count the occurrences of the coded units and report their frequencies (the total frequencies of the coded units in the corresponding timeframe of the reportage, as depicted in the figures in chapters six and seven).

5.5 The Structure and Contents of the Semi-Structured Interviews

In 5.1 above, the theoretical underpinnings of the factors that mostly influenced the framing attitudes of journalists were discussed. Arguably, those factors cannot be incontestably established by even the most critical content analysis of the CDF and Taylor trials. Thus, textual interpretations (content and discourse analyses for example) can hardly exactly establish the factors that may have influenced the framings of any issues and events.

‘...an analyst’s interpretation of a text is only one probable understanding from a critic’s subjective position, no matter how multiperspective, and may not necessarily be the assessment the audience prefers or the one offered by others’ (Alozie, op. cit:215)

On this issue, it can be contended that the factors that influenced the framings of the trials can best be discovered when the findings from the content/discourse analyses are triangulated with those of the semi-structured interviews conducted with the owners, editors and journalists of the ‘selected media’ (Boyd, 1991), who actually covered the trials. This will give a clear picture of how the ‘selected media’ represented the CDF and Taylor trials; and what the journalists who covered the trials said, really influenced their framings of the issues and events, that characterised their reportage for the period being studied.

Some of the journalists of the ‘selected media’ that covered the CDF trial in particular (between 2003 and 2008) are no longer working in the print media. Some have died (the then News Editor of Standard Times, Augustine Beecher, being the notable one). And others have travelled out of Sierra Leone. Notwithstanding these shortcomings, eight (8) journalists: Paul Kamara (Proprietor and Editor-in-Chief), SU Thoronka (War Crimes Correspondent) and Ibrahim Sesay (News Editor) of For Di People; Ibrahim Karim-Sei (Editor-in-Chief), Theophilus Gbenda (War Crimes Correspondent), and Mohammed Abu - a.k.a Amadi Abadi (Senior Staff Writer) of Standard Times; Kelvin Lewis (Editor-in-Chief) and Betty Milton (War Crimes Reporter) of

Awoko; between 2013 and 2014 consented to the semi-structured interviews conducted in Freetown. Thus, in keeping with recognised academic research ethics (Treadwell, op.cit: 39-40), I had the informed consent of all the participants in both the interviews and the group discussions (see 5.6). As a Sierra Leonean who has lived in the country his entire life and a Themne from the North (Port Loko), of course I have my own personal experiences of the civil war. But I have approached this research in the spirit of independent academic inquiry and striven for 'objectivity' at all times.

5.6. Ethnographic Surveys: The Group Discussions

Essentially, the content analysis is not being invoked to gauge media impact of the trials on CSOs representatives; it rather aims at analysing how the 'selected media' represented both trials. However, the 'message' which they (CSOs representatives) took from the coverage depended on how they perceived the trials as represented/reported by the 'selected media'; hence the need for the conduct of the series of group discussions with CSOs' representatives across Sierra Leone. Thus, the thematic issues and questions that formed the basis for the 'group discussions' are those that emerged from both the qualitative and quantitative components of the content analysis. Therefore, the appropriate methodological frameworks which have been adopted to intellectually discern research questions 2, 4 and 5 are a series of group discussions conducted across Sierra Leone, bolstered by the distribution of self-administered questionnaires in every region of the country.

Four group discussions were organised for CSOs representatives in the North, South, East and the Western Area of the Republic of Sierra Leone, between January and February, 2012, on their perceptions of media coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials in particular; and what influence has media coverage had on attitudes towards post-conflict justice in Sierra Leone in general. The discussions were held in Kenema, Bo, Makeni (the Provincial Headquarters) and Freetown. The discussants who (included youths, women, development workers, health NGOs etc.) represented all twelve Districts in Sierra Leone and the Western Area, were selected after consultations with the President of the Coalition for Civil Society and Human Rights Activists in Sierra Leone, Mr. Charles Mambu. Each group consisted of either ten (10) or eleven (11) CSOs'

representatives and they were asked to respond to a set of twelve (12) questions (listed in the appendix v).

5.7 The Content and Structure of the Questionnaires

Even though the group discussions were conducted with research question 5 (see 1.3 above) in mind, it became crystal clear that it would not be empirically expedient to generalise from too small a sample; hence the need to further administer questionnaires to gauge the influence which media coverage has had on attitudes towards post-conflict justice in Sierra Leone. A simple questionnaire containing twenty-two (22) unambiguous questions; with provisions for age, sex, occupational and regional distributions (see appendix iv) was drawn up and pre-tested to forty (40) respondents in the Western Area, before being administered across the country.

The response rate to the pre-tested questionnaires was good. One was able to receive thirty-one (31) of the forty (40) copies issued out. The responses elicited were satisfactory, and it is evidently clear that the respondents understood the issues about TJ that were raised in the questionnaires, for which their genuine and unbiased opinions were solicited. And the need to readjust the contents of the questionnaire did not arise. This strong conviction finally precipitated the need to develop a manageable and representational sample size, reflecting the Western Area and the Provinces, for purposes of this study.

5.8 The Sample Frame and Sample Size

This study principally focuses on what effects media coverage had on CSOs' representatives' perceptions and attitudes towards post-conflict justice in Sierra Leone. A manageable and representational sample size of four hundred (400) inhabitants from the Western Area and the Provinces is designed for this study. One hundred (100) questionnaires were administered in each of the Provinces mentioned in 5.6 above. The remaining one hundred (100) were reserved for administration in the Western Area. This gives the research a national focus, devoid of regional prejudices, as the same number of questionnaires (100) was administered in every region of Sierra Leone, irrespective of the size and population, or number of Districts and

Chiefdoms of any region in Sierra Leone. The research's national posture should challenge notions of regional imbalance in either the administration of the questionnaires, or the conduct of the group discussions. And the administration of four hundred (400) questionnaires nationally to elicit the views of Sierra Leoneans on the subject of this study can reasonably challenge notions of drawing conclusions and making generalisations from too small a sample.

5.9 The Data Collection Procedures

Constrained by time and limited financial resources, I could not recruit any paid research assistant to administer the questionnaires throughout Sierra Leone. I personally facilitated the process of distributing the self-administered questionnaires to all the targeted respondents (with some meaningful assistance from some colleagues) across the country. Unlike the group discussions, which only targeted representatives from registered CSOs that constitute the Coalition for Civil Society and Human Rights Activists in Sierra Leone, the questionnaires were randomly distributed to journalists, lawyers, students, NGO workers, teachers, health workers, civil/public servants, commercial workers etc. across Sierra Leone.

The distribution of the questionnaires took place in the four regions between 22nd May and June 9th, 2013. Seventy-eight out of 100 questionnaires were completed in the Western Area. In the South (Bo), the response rate was lower – 50 out of 100 completed. In the North (Makeni), 81 out of 100 questionnaires were completed and returned. And, finally, in the Eastern region (Kenema), we collected sixty-five (65) copies of the one hundred questionnaires we had distributed. The responses were triangulated with the interview and focus group material presented in chapters six and seven to establish whether or not there were convergences or divergences in the views of the 'elites' and those of the 'grass-roots' about the media's impacts on the TJ process in post-conflict Sierra Leone.

Chapter Six

Data Presentation and Analysis of the CDF Trial

6.0 Introduction

In the previous chapter, I analysed the study's methodological frameworks. In this chapter, I shall critically evaluate the findings from the media's coverage of the CDF trial, in the order in which the research questions are answered. The first part of this chapter covers the background to the content analysis. The content analysis, which is theoretically and methodologically informed by framing, is bolstered by discourse analysis. Meanwhile, whereas the first part of the content analysis, deals with the qualitative dimension; the second part mirrors the quantitative aspect.

The findings from the semi-structured interviews with journalists and those of the content and discourse analyses reflect 'how the selected media represented the CDF trial' (see research question 1). Further, the second part of the chapter, entails the findings from the group discussions (conducted throughout Sierra Leone) to gauge CSOs' representatives' perceptions about media coverage of the trial' (see research question 2). Moreover, the third part, constitutes the triangulated results of the content and discourse analyses and interviews (the content dimension) and those of the group discussions (the response dimension) to come up with new empirical judgments about the media's impacts on elites' opinions, regarding post-conflict justice in Sierra Leone.

6.1 Background to the Content Analysis

The CDF which constituted different ethno-regional militias was never put on trial.²⁹ Rather, it was only three of its high profiled members from the Kamajors society (Chief Norman, Alieu Kondowai and Moinina Fofana), who were indicted on eight (8) counts of crimes against humanity, war crimes³⁰ and other serious violations of IHL; pursuant to Article 6 (1) and alternatively, Article 6 (3) of the Statute.³¹ The specific offences for which they were indicted

²⁹ See the Prosecutor v AlieuKondowai and Moinina Fofana-Case No.SCSL-04-14; hereinafter refer to as the CDF Trial Chamber Judgment, 2007.

³⁰ That is violations of Article 3 Common to the Geneva Conventions and of Additional Protocol II.

³¹ Thus, whereas Article 6 (1) deals with the crime of individual criminal responsibility of the indictees as aiders and abettors, planners and instigators in a joint criminal enterprise; Article 6 (3) covers the offence of superior and command responsibility in a joint criminal enterprise.

were unlawful killings, violence to life, health or physical or mental wellbeing of persons,³² pillage, acts of terrorism, collective punishments and conscripting children under the age of 15 years into armed forces or groups (Ibid: 1-11).

The trio (Norman, Fofana and Kondowai) were said to be the Trinity of the CDF (op.cit:108-111; Albert J. Nallo, 11 March 2005:23-24, Transcript). Norman,³³ who was the National Coordinator, was 'god the father'. Fofana³⁴ doubled as 'god the son' and Director of War, and Kondowai³⁵ served as 'god the holy spirit' (Albert Nallo, bid: 24). Norman was taken into custody on March 10, 2003, at an isolated prison in Bonthe Island, where he made his plea of not guilty, on March 15, 2003. Fofana and Kondowai also pleaded not guilty on July 1, 2003, and were also held in custody at the same location (Creamer, 2008:2). Their trial which commenced on June 3, 2004³⁶ and ended on November 30, 2006, spanned up to eight (8) sessions covering 162 days (Annex F: CDF Trial Chamber Judgment, 2007:F7).

Between June 3, 2004 and July 14, 2005, seventy-three (73) witnesses testified for the prosecution, but forty-four (44) witnesses, including Peter Penfold,³⁷ Paul Richards,³⁸ and Dr. Albert Joe Demby,³⁹ testified for the defence between January 20, 2006 and October 18, 2006 (Ibid: F7). Unlike Fofana and Kondowai, who never testified in their own defence, Norman who did, fell ill after the trial, and died in a military hospital in Dakar, before judgment was pronounced. The Trial Chamber I then dropped all the charges against him (see Appendix III¹⁰¹).⁴⁰ Fofana and Kondowai were convicted on July 20, 2007 by a majority decision of Justices Benjamin Mutanga Itoe and Pierre Boutet. Fofana was convicted of violence to life, health and physical or mental wellbeing of persons (count 2), cruel treatment (count 4), pillage (count 5), and collective punishment (count 7); and vindicated of murder (count 1), inhuman acts (count 3), acts of terrorism (count 6) and conscripting or enlisting children under the age of 15 years

³² Including looting and burning.

³³ The first accused.

³⁴ The second accused.

³⁵ The third accused.

³⁶ After Norman had been in detention for over a year; and Fofana and Kondowai for almost a year

³⁷ The then British High Commissioner to Sierra Leone

³⁸ A General in the British Army

³⁹ Sierra Leone's former Vice President.

⁴⁰ CDF Trial Chamber Judgment, ibid: 1.

into armed forces or groups or using them to actively participate in hostilities (count 8). Kondowai was also convicted and exonerated of the same offences for which Fofana was found guilty and those for which he was vindicated; save for count eight,⁴¹ which increased his conviction by one count. The Judges ordered that their sentences were to be served concurrently (Ibid: 290). In effect, Fofana was going to be in prison for six (6) years and Kondowai was to serve for eight (8) years (Ibid: 290-292), but the Appeals Chambers increased their punishments to fifteen (15) and twenty (20) years respectively, and such punishments are being served concurrently, commencing on the day both men were taken into custody.

6.2 Content Analysis: The Qualitative Dimension

The papers' coverage of the pre-trial, trial and post-trial phases, are divided into five frames, through which their agenda can be referenced (see 5.1), along with a number of sub-frames. The five generic frames that evolved from the papers' coverage are:

1. The Rebel War and its Controversies
2. President Kabbah's Role in the Conflict
3. Territorial Integrity/Sovereignty and the Defence of Democracy/ the SLPP Government
4. The Resurgence of War Crimes Jurisprudence versus Political Expediency
5. The Reconciliation- Prosecution Debate

I shall sequentially deal with the frames and the discourses in which they are packaged as they are presented above. For ease of referencing, I shall henceforth adopt the acronyms FDP and ST for 'For Di People' and 'Standard Times', respectively, but 'Awoko' shall be fully referenced in its own name.

6.2.1 The Rebel War and Its Controversies

The papers reflected the country's rebel war and its consequences for national cohesion and development (see Appendix III^{30, 146, 153, 317}). The recurring themes in the coverage are: 'The Rebel war', 'The CDF (Kamajors) Phenomenon', 'The Kamajors-Army Debacle', and 'The North-South Divide. Thus, it appears that the papers presented the recurring themes with clear nuances, reflecting their news selection, framing, agenda-setting and priming orientations and

⁴¹Conscripting children under the age of 15 into armed forces or group

inclinations (see 3.1, 4.1 and 5.1). I will now proceed to analyse the controversial issues that characterised each of the sub-frames to establish whether there were visible convergences and divergences in the coverage (see 5.4).

The Rebel War

The papers reflected different issues that caused and fuelled the war, but they clearly emphasised the erosion of democratic ideals in the country's body-politic as the war's principal causal factor (see Appendix III^{32, 146, 290}). However, whilst FDP and Awoko made the issues of corruption and poor governance salient (see Appendix III^{33, 152, 186}); ST made the issues of gross human rights violations and external intervention quite prominent (see Appendix III^{310, 348}). ST (see Appendix III^{282, 309}) further attributed the causes of the war to the one-party dictatorship of the APC between 1968 and 1992.⁴² However, the papers reflected how the RUF's rebellion hindered Sierra Leone's socio-economic and political developments. They also captured President Taylor's involvement in the war; his affiliation with the RUF; the RUF's connection with Libya's Colonel Muammah Al Quaddafi; and the pampering it received from Blaise Campoure of Burkina Faso (see Appendix III^{32, 146, 290}). Even the involvement of 'mercenary outfits' and other 'criminal enterprises' in the war; leading to illicit mining and exportations of Sierra Leone's diamonds to Liberia and other places (see Appendix III^{195, 196}); and how the war heightened the politics of ethno-regionalism, were also made salient in the coverage (see Appendix III^{42, 43, 147, 156}).

The papers further captured the NPRC's intervention into Sierra Leone's politics; its misguided strategy of recruiting illiterates and thugs into the national army; and the emergence of 'ethno-regional militias' in defence of their respective regions (see Appendix III^{146, 203}). The 'controversial' 1996 Parliamentary and Presidential elections that brought back the SLPP to power, after twenty-four years (24) in the political wilderness; and how the RUF, NPRC junta and the army, berated the conduct of the elections, also came out vividly in the other recurring themes of the coverage (see Appendix III^{186, 189}). Even though the papers' initial analyses of the war and the discourses that informed the political debate arguably chimed with the intellectual

⁴² Under the leadership of Siaka Stevens and Joseph Momoh

climate of Sierra Leone, there were other salient issues, which they did not contextualise. This is in line with the framing paradigm, which emphasises not only that which is reported, but that which ought to have been reported (Entman, op.cit: 52-54, 164).

ST for example, represented that between 1968 and 1992, Sierra Leone's one-party dictatorship was highly dominated by the Northern APC oligarchy (see Appendix III^{282, 309}), but it did not mention that the NPRC junta, which toppled the APC, was dominated by South-Eastern junior military officers and SLPP stalwarts (see Appendix III¹⁶⁸). Again, FDP (see Appendix III^{168, 255}) enunciated the nexus between the NPRC and the SLPP, pointing to the role which Ahmed Tejan Kabbah (President) and Solomon Berewa (Vice President) played in the NPRC's Advisory Council, but neither ST nor Awoko commented on these issues. Further, it was only FDP (ibid) that highlighted the fact that the NPRC junta seemingly predicated its despotic rule on bringing the war to an end and restoring democracy to Sierra Leone. The paper thus criticised the NPRC for failing on all its objectives, but neither ST nor Awoko reported this. However, it appears that FDP's analysis on these issues reflected what is in the existing literature (Bundu, op.cit:59, Gberie, op.cit:70-72; Hirsch, op.cit:35; Musah and Fayemi, op.cit:86; Francis, op.cit:109-110; Zack-Williams, op.cit:22, Berewa, op.cit: 116).

Some of the issues germane to this sub-frame that were only mentioned, but not well articulated by any of the papers, are the facts that the NPRC, in an attempt to halt the rebel advances, increased the strength of the national army from about 8,000 to 14,000 by recruiting 'children' and even 'criminals' (Musah and Fayemi, 2000:86; Gberie, op.cit:76-77); a strategy that undermined state security; leading to the 'so-bels' (soldiers turned rebels) phenomenon. However, there were convergences in the papers' dispatches on the 'so-bels' phenomenon (see Appendix III^{9, 10, 156, 157, 306}). The papers recounted the 'collusion' between the RUF and some sections of the army in making the country ungovernable. Both ST and Awoko (ibid) reflected the affairs of 'the criminal enterprise' of the army and the RUF that took active parts in the killings and mutilations of civilians, illicit mining and smuggling of the country's alluvial diamonds. FDP (see Appendix III¹⁵⁶) also mentioned how the emergence of the 'so-bels' phenomenon and its criminality, led to the continuity of the war at the expense of national development and state security.

The CDF (Kamajors) Phenomenon

The papers narrated the fact that the emergence of ethno-regional militias became inevitable when the army could neither prosecute the war, nor defend the lives and property of Sierra Leoneans (see Appendix III^{56-58, 65, 67}). It appears that the papers constructed different narratives on the operations of the Kamajors, with intermittent references to the activities of the other ethno-regional militias. The papers did not do in-depth analysis of the role which the other militias played in the war. They did not also look at whether the other militias violated the laws of war. Neither did they critically analyse the reasons why their leaders were not indicted, nor did they look at their legacies on Sierra Leone's national security.

Hence, the coverage relating to the other 'ethno-regional militias' within the CDF seems to be 'episodic' rather than 'thematic' (Iyengar, op.cit: 273-289). Thus, in analysing this sub-frame, the operations of the other militias are contextualised to present a holistic picture of the CDF's role in the conflict. The Korankos and Madingos (both minority ethnic groups from the North) were the first to form their militia known as the Tamaboros (Bundu, op.cit:55), who operated around the Koinadugu and Bombali axis in defence of their people against the onslaught of the RUF and 'so-bels'. But their existence ended with the deaths of their leaders (Marie Keita and Daemba Samura) in the 1990s (Gberie, 2005:83). The Mendes (the majority ethnic group from the South-East) formed the Kamajors society, but the Kamajors came to be involved in national security, when the SLPP came to power in 1996 (Abdullah and Mauna, 1998:185; Kabbah, op.cit:57; Hirsch, op.cit:52; Gberie, op.cit:83; Bundu, op.cit:55; Penfold, op.cit:14). The Konos (a minority ethnic group from the East) also formed the Donsos Movement. And the Themnes (the majority ethnic group from the North), started the Kapras and Gbethis Movements (Bundu, op.cit:55).

The papers saw 'mysticism' as a common practice of all the 'ethno-regional militias' (see Appendix III^{56-58, 65, 67, 208, 232}). Thus, the narrative which the papers (see Appendix III^{11, 208, 301}) constructed is that the formation of the militias emerged as a spontaneous response to the exigencies of the war, but some scholars denied this. They have emphasised that the militias whose existence had been suppressed by the colonialists were only revived to meet the

exigencies of the war (Abdallah and Mauna, 1998:185; Musah and Fayemi, op.cit:80). Meanwhile, the papers attributed the formation of the Kamajors society to the tireless efforts of the late Dr. Alpha Lavalie, the society's first Chairman and scholar of Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone. Chief Norman only became the society's leader after Dr. Lavalie's death (CDF Trial Chamber judgment, op.cit:80; see also Appendix III^{53, 178, 297}). The word Kamajors in Mende literally denotes hunters, who possess natural and supernatural powers of the forest and can procure meats for their local community and simultaneously protect their environments (see Appendix III^{56-58, 65, 67}).

The papers reflected how the army and the NPRC junta initially embraced the Kamajors, who served as vigilantes to them. The Kamajors, who understood the terrain, beefed up the army's manpower. And some of them were even trained by the army (CDF Trial Chamber Judgment, op.cit: 17; see also Appendix III^{56, 72, 84}). Thus, the pre-1997 'organisational structure' of the society was different from its post-1997 'hierarchical structure'. Neither the so-called 'Trinity' nor the 'War Council' existed prior to 1997 (see Appendix III^{57, 58}). The Kamajors in their respective chiefdoms were assigned by their paramount chiefs to the soldiers. They went through mysterious initiation ceremonies that allegedly immunised them against bullet wounds(see Appendix III⁵⁴).

This was an issue that raised serious controversies in Sierra Leone. However, divergences in the papers' analyses are seen in the controversies of the 'Kamajors' invincibility' and 'immunity' against bullet wounds'. FDP (see Appendix III^{203, 232}) constructed the critical narrative that it is unscientific for any human being to be invincible or be immunised against bullet wounds. The paper thus dismissed the narrative about the Kamajors' mystical powers as a sham, but neither ST nor Awoko could either question or criticise this. Both papers only represented the issue as it was adduced in the testimonies of the defence's witnesses (see Appendix III^{67-69, 401}). Dr. Demby and Dr. Sama Banya (SLPP stalwarts and experts in medical science), testified in defence of the CDF leaders that the issues of 'Kamajors' invincibility' and 'immunisation against bullet wounds', were true and could not be explained by science (Ibid).

The Kamajors' philosophy was rooted in the social psychology of persuasion (Baron, Byrne and Branscombe, 2007:111); through which the movement was supposed to have upheld the ideals of the laws of war (Kaczorowska, op.cit:454-470, Shaw, 2003: 1054-1079, Hillier, 1999: 272-285). They were not supposed to 'kill women' and 'unarmed civilians'. They were also prohibited from 'eating snakes' or 'having sexual affairs' (willingly or forcibly) with women whilst in combat (see Appendix III^{45, 60, 63, 218, 358}). The Kamajors who did not adhere to the rules were said to have lost their immunity to bullets and were killed in combat (see Appendix III^{44, 60, 63, 69}). Meanwhile, quite a good number of credible witnesses testified about the heinous crimes, which the Kamajors committed against the 'vulnerable civilians', whom they were supposed to protect (see Appendix III^{35, 98, 201, 207}). Even though very astute attempts were made by the defence to rebut such testimonies, the court did not accept such rebuttals (see Appendix III^{56, 61-63, 66, 396,397}). FDP thus gave prominence to the atrocities committed by the Kamajors (see 6.3.3 for the references). ST and Awoko (see Appendix III^{65, 69, 73-75}) however paid attention to the testimonies of the defence witnesses.

The Kamajors - Army Debacle

Chief Norman's appointment as Deputy Defence Minister in President Kabbah's maiden Cabinet was received with mixed feelings. The Pro-SLPP stalwarts believed that Norman (who was a Captain in the army) knew how to deal with soldiers, whose loyalty to the SLPP was questionable (see Appendix III^{301, 307}). Conversely, soldiers who were disillusioned with the appointment raised the issue of conflict of interests because Norman was the Kamajors' Chieftain and Deputy Defence Minister (see Appendix III^{237, 255, 257}). The soldiers emphasised the perceptions that Norman was 'tribal' and had been 'a coupist' since 1967 and that the army would not be comfortable working with him (see Appendix III^{151, 203}). The Kamajors then began having skirmishes with the army.

The former alleged that they were only pursuing the RUF and 'so-bels', who harassed and killed their peoples (see Appendix III³⁶⁴). The latter however alleged that their men were being constantly attacked and killed by the Kamajors. These recriminations reached their climax, when Major Johnny Paul Koroma, allegedly massacred Kamajors at Sierra Rutile in Moyamba

district (see Appendix III^{152, 156}). Major Koroma was arrested and incarcerated, pending investigations (FDP, *ibid*). There were allegations that Norman was marginalising the army by giving preferential treatments to the Kamajors, whom he perceived to be more loyal to the SLPP than the army (see Appendix III^{156-158, 161}). This was how FDP exactly reflected the above allegations:

...‘Norman’s ethnic Kamajor army behaved towards the soldiers with impunity. Whilst this war was on going, the Pademba Road prison was rising at an alarming rate. What made the whole issue a matter of concern, the new inmates were soldiers thrown into the maximum prison because of accusations of fighting Kamajors. Meanwhile, no Kamajor was arrested following these skirmishes...The Kamajors started getting more bold, making checkpoints and searching for soldiers whom they killed...Following the handover power ceremony to President Kabbah, the SLPP started targeting the military establishment as a potential enemy...We need to step back and look at our situation not with a jaundiced eye or based on ethnic sentiments, but from a national viewpoint’ (see Appendix III^{152, 156}).

The army even accused the SLPP of fuelling the flames of ethno-regionalism and alleged that it (as seen in FDP’s 4th and 11th April, 2003 editions) was ruthlessly persecuting soldiers. FDP (see Appendix III¹⁴⁵) also accused the SLPP of providing Kamajors with the requisite resources that were not made available to the army. Neither ST nor Awoko reflected these allegations. They only made the fact salient that the Kamajors sacrificed their lives in defence of Sierra Leone (see Appendix III^{377, 382}); for which they were never paid (see Appendix III^{56, 65}). It appears that the soldiers’ accusations reflected in FDP’s publications that the SLPP fuelled ethno-regionalism and simultaneously condoned the criminality of the Kamajors, (see Appendix III^{152, 156, 203, 207, 236-237}) is manifested in the hunt for Northerners by the Kamajors. This is corroborated by credible witnesses that testified before the TRC and SCSL:

‘Regionalism: Kamajors Killed 150 Northerners’-Witness tells Special Court (see Appendix III²³¹).

The link between the conflict and ethnicity lies in the way in which certain factions turned ethnicity into an instrument of prejudice and violence against perceived opponents or those who did not 'belong'. People of Northern origins were found to have been targeted in the Southern and Eastern regions during the latter part of the war. The Kamajors committed disproportionate levels of violations against such ethnic groups as the Themne, Koranko, Loko, Limba and Yalunka.⁴³

Analytically, as reflected in ST (but not in Awoko), the army which the SLPP inherited was not regionally- balanced; it was largely Northern-dominated (see Appendix III³⁰⁶). And the SLPP being a South-Eastern party had little or no trust in an army that had staged two foiled coups and a successful, but a devastating one (Hirsch, op.cit:53) within nine months. Thus, the coverage of this issue was characterised by three (3) main themes. Firstly, FDP questioned the elections that brought the SLPP to power in 1996 and called it an undemocratic regime (see Appendix III^{237, 257}). Both ST and Awoko reflected the SLPP's democratic legitimacy. In fact, as far back as 1996, the international community validated the conduct of the 1996 elections as credible, free and fair (see Appendix III⁵⁰³). Secondly, FDP drew a connection between Norman's appointment and the exacerbation of the war. It carried a notably controversial story ('Norman's War' under the column People's Feature), which was extremely critical of Norman and the SLPP. FDP opined that the RUF's war ended with the signing of the LPA, but Norman's war started on becoming Deputy Minister:

Sitting in his Bonthe Island prison cell, Hinga Norman former war lord of the disbanded ethnic Kamajor army will have enough time pondering about the war he created in Sierra Leone on becoming Deputy Defence Minister... As Deputy Defence Minister and head of the ethnic Kamajor militia, Norman was wearing two totally different caps... Norman started inciting Kamajors to attack soldiers. First in Njala, then in Kenema, and subsequently a whole brigade headquarters in Bo was attacked by the ethnic army. This was the beginning of Norman's war (see Appendix III¹⁵⁶).

⁴³TRC Report, Volume II, 2004:11.

This story line was not seen in the articles of neither ST nor Awoko (for the entire period for which this study is designed). It appears that the story was neither supported by the existing literature, nor any piece of evidence, adduced during the trial, neither was it in line with any of the issues addressed in the trial's judgment or, indeed, the coverage of other newspapers. FDP (see Appendix III¹⁸⁹) also alleged that upon the formation of the Kamajor society, the Tamaboros and the Donsos were disbanded by the SLPP because it wanted to legitimise the 'ethnic Kamajor army' and 'undermine the national army'. Both ST and Awoko did not reflect this.

Finally, whilst FDP stated that Major Koroma was incarcerated on the allegation that he was involved in the killings of Kamajors in Moyamba; ST and Awoko (as referenced above) represented that Koroma's arrest was in respect of a failed coup that preceded that of the AFRC/RUF. ST (see Appendix III³⁹⁵) and Awoko (see Appendix III⁵⁶) reflected that Parliament approved the use of arms by Kamajors. FDP (see Appendix III²¹⁸) however commented that Parliament only legitimated the use of arms by the CDF. Analytically, the CDF was not an embodiment of the Kamajor society alone; it was rather an amalgam of the Gbethis, Kapras, Kamajors and Donsos etc. Thus, it cannot be argued that the CDF hadn't any legality to carry arms. Essentially, the nuances adopted by the papers are a reflection of whether the indictees had or hadn't any legality to carry arms.

The North-South Divide

The Tamaboros, Kapras and the Gbethis engaged the 'so-bels' in the North. The Kamajors initially operated in the South-East, but were subsequently brought to the Western Area, when ECOMOG (Economic Community of West African States Monitoring Group) launched its attack to flush out the junta. Though the Kapras and Gbethis were formally part of the CDF, according to FDP, the SLPP gave much preference to the Kamajors at the expense of the Kapras, Gbethis and Donsos. FDP (Monday, 28th May, 2003, Friday, 22nd August, 2003) also stated that all the above ethno-regional militias became defunct, when the SLPP ascended the throne of power. The paper (Friday, 11th April, 2003) dubbed the Kamajors society an 'ethnic army' created to protect the SLPP alone. It appears that FDP took the position that the formation of the

Kamajors society heightened the North-South divide, which had dominated the political landscape of Sierra Leone since independence. This analysis resonates with Bundu's (Op.cit:55-57) reflections on how the Kamajors society was targeting and killing Northerners during the war years. Thus, the testimonies of credible witnesses, spoke volumes of how Kamajors targeted and killed Northerners with impunity (see Appendix III²⁰⁷).

After searching their belongings the Kamajors ordered the civilians to form queues according to their tribes. Themne, Limba and Loko members were ordered to form one queue, which contained 150 men and one twelve year old boy called Foday Koroma. Mandingo, Susu and Fullah tribe members were ordered to form a second queue. And Mende, Sherbro and Kissy tribe members were ordered to form the third one. Kamabote asked twelve year-old Foday Koroma what tribe he belonged to and the boy responded that he was a Loko...Kamabote responded by striking him with a machete, killing him (CDF Trial Judgment, op.cit:123 FDP, see also Appendix III²⁰⁷).

...The remaining Lokos, Limbas and Themnes were taken 20 to 25 feet away and Kamabote ordered his Kamajors to kill them. They used cutlasses to kill each of the 150 people in the queue. After wards, the Kamajors slit opened the stomach of one victim and displayed his entrails in a bucket before the remaining civilians ... In a different area of the field, where TF2-048 was staying, everyone except for the Themnes, Limbas and Lokos was allowed to leave. The Kamajors said the Limbas had tapped wine for the rebels and that they along with the Themnes and Lokos should be killed...(CDF Trial Judgment, op.cit: 123, see also Appendix III⁴³).

Another Kamajor approached her brother and showed him a list of Limbas to be killed. He told him that he had come there for him and then cut off his ear. The brother knelt down and asked the Kamajor to spare his life because he had a wife and children. The Kamajor cut his throat with a machete and then mutilated his body.TF2-048 witnessed

this, but did not reveal their relationship because she knew that the Kamajors were looking for Limbas.⁴⁴

The papers thus carried so many stories on this issue of Kamajors' cruelty against Northerners. But FDP (as referenced above) devoted much more attention to this than any of the other papers. Awoko merely published the testimonies as they were adduced in court. Even though ST (Thursday, 22nd January, 2004, Wednesday, 4th February, 2004) published news and views on the testimonies, their analysis on the issue was underpinned by the Kamajors' efforts in resisting the junta.

6.2.2 Kabbah's Role in the Conflict

The role which President Kabbah played in the conflict was also reflected in the papers' coverage. The issues in this frame are analysed within the purview of two (2) sub-frames- 'The Kabbah, ECOMOG and Kamajors (CDF) Alliance' and 'The Kabbah-Norman Friction'.

The Kabbah, ECOMOG and Kamajors (CDF) Alliance

ST and Awoko reflected the high level of corruption in the upper echelons of the army (see Appendix III^{286, 372}). This was a controversy that was not represented in FDP's analysis (see Appendix III^{237, 257}). Awoko (see Appendix III⁵⁴⁻⁵⁵) reported the controversies surrounding the supply of rice and the inflated number of personnel in the army, as notable instances of corruption. Thus, whilst officers received up to fifty bags of rice per month; the rank and file received half bag each. When this issue became enigmatic, the SLPP convinced the soldiers that they should be paid with money instead of rice, but the soldiers disagreed.⁴⁵ Whilst President Kabbah grappled with the problems of reforming the army, the soldiers became disgusted with his actions and Norman's affiliation and activities with the Kamajors. According to ST (17th and 20th January, 2006), Norman received classified information about a coup plot, which he relayed to President Kabbah. And on 25th May, 1997, a group of disgruntled soldiers toppled the SLPP in a bloody coup that ushered in the AFRC junta (see Appendix III⁵⁶⁻⁵⁷).

⁴⁴ CDF Trial Judgment, op.cit:123, Awoko, ibid.

⁴⁵ CDF Trial Chamber Judgment, op.cit: 17.

President Kabbah and the SLPP stalwarts fled into exile in Guinea. ST (see Appendix III³²⁷) also reflected that all the coupists (except Tamba Gborie) were Northerners. But this fact was not seen in the analysis of either FDP or Awoko, though it is authenticated by what is in the existing literature (Hirsch op.cit:56; Penfold, op.cit:17). Hirsch (op.cit) made it clear that all the coupists were from the Binkolo Limba Chiefdom in Bombali District in the North (the home town of former President Momoh). And Gberie (2004:154-155) confirmed the extent to which the coup was dubbed a 'Northern Affair'. The AFRC hurriedly joined forces with the RUF rebels to loot the State's treasury, plunder the economy and unleash terror on innocent civilians (Abdallah, 2004:5-6).

ST (Wednesday, 22nd January, 2003:9) commented that it was when the junta refused to relinquish power that the use of force to restore the legitimate government became a common concern. Even CSOs in exile and the media called for military intervention (Standard Times, *ibid*). ST (see Appendix III^{370, 389}) further analysed how this call also motivated the CDF to form an alliance with ECOMOG to bring back democracy to Sierra Leone. This view is also reflected in Awoko's (see Appendix III^{65, 104}) critical analysis on the issue. ST (see Appendix III³⁰²⁻³⁰³) further stated that the CDF's formation was an attempt to mitigate the deep seated ethnic cleavages in Sierra Leone's body- politic, but because the CDF was largely dominated by the Kamajors, it was never seen as having a national face. This is seen in the fact that the CDF's operations were nationally co-ordinated by Norman, who was himself a Kamajor and the political party (SLPP) that was to be restored was South-Eastern dominated.

The papers reflected the CDF's hierarchical structure, pointing to President Kabbah as its head (see Appendix III⁶¹⁻⁶²). FDP (see Appendix III²³⁰) represented Norman as the figure, who unilaterally created the positions of Regional Coordinators that supervised the distribution of food and logistics to the CDF regionally. The paper (see Appendix III¹⁶⁶) also pointed out that the War Council, which hitherto took strategic decisions and enforced discipline in the CDF, became powerless because of Norman's influence and Kondowai's disdain of the Council's insistent on 'punishing Kamajors that committed atrocities'. Awoko's (see Appendix III^{232, 234})

position on this issue resonated with that of FDP, pointing to the extent to which Norman was becoming more powerful than the War Council.

FDP and Awoko extensively covered Kamajors' attacks on forces loyal to the junta in the South and the East to make way for ECOMOG's deployment. Hence Koribondo, Bo, Kenema, Tongo, Moyamba etc. were attacked and the junta dislodged, but serious atrocities were committed against civilians (see Appendix III^{61, 147, 232}). There were also similarities in reporting that General Maxwell Khobe (a Nigerian) was appointed Chief of Defence Staff of the Sierra Leone Army and was asked by President Kabbah to take over the affairs and control of the CDF. Subsequently, General Shelpidi (a Nigerian too) took over ECOMOG's High Command and control of the CDF (FDP, *ibid*, ST, *ibid* and Awoko, *ibid*).

Thus, the junta launched 'Operation No Living Thing', which started in Kono district in the East, came through the North and ended in Freetown. According to FDP (see Appendix III¹⁴¹) the suffering of the masses heightened, when ECOMOG re-grouped and launched its reprisal attack. Essentially, FDP (see Appendix III¹⁴⁶) and ST (see Appendix III²⁹²) called for the trials of ECOMOG forces for atrocities committed in the fight to take over Freetown. However, Awoko (Wednesday, 11th February, 2004:2) only reported that ECOMOG personnel were not subjected to war crimes trial. There was however a clear uniformity in the coverage that the Kamajors were also enlisted to push back the rebels out of Freetown; and the ensuing deadly battle occasioned the violations of the laws of war by all the warring factions (see Appendix III308).

The Kabbah-Norman Friction

All of the papers under scrutiny asked why the chief prosecutor, David Crane, refused to indict Kabbah for war crimes. Indeed, they overwhelmingly called on Crane to indict Kabbah. FDP⁴⁶ wanted Kabbah to face the SCSL, because he was the Minister of Defence and the head of the CDF. This was how FDP clearly reflected this:

⁴⁶See 'Those Who Bear the Greatest Responsibility: Try Kabbah Now!' - Friday, 15th August, 2003:3; 'Will Kabbah Survive Crane of Mass Destruction?' Thursday, 13th March, 2003:4.

Kabbah's role in our just ended ten years rebel war could not be swept under the carpet like that... The numerous crimes against humanity allegedly committed by Commander Norman, for which he is currently being detained, must be in the knowledge of President Kabbah. Kabbah knew majority of the works of Norman's Kamajors/CDF. Even the arms and ammo used by these fighters may have been financially provided by the President himself. Norman was a poor brat before he became a CDF/ Kamajors head. Who gave him the money to purchase arms? Where did he get the money to buy the arms and ammunition from Bulgaria in the first instance to launch the all-out war to get rid of the murderous band of AFRC/RUF coalition of the willing? 'Kabbah... is a man whose hands are filled with blood and in most cases innocent blood. And sadly though he failed to see that; he was lured into signing a peace accord with rebels, whose atrocities were despicable. He took a shovel, dug his own grave, but it is Norman whom he wants to be buried in it (see Appendix III¹⁴³).

Even some SLPP stalwarts demanded that he be indicted and tried ('Embarrassment...SLPP Calls for Kabbah's Indictment'; ST, Friday, 14th March, 2003). Kabbah's position statement that he was not aware of Norman's arrest and would not have interfered was according to the papers unfounded (see Appendix III^{2-3, 142-143, 284-285}).

As ST (Friday 14th March, 2003: 7-8) put it:

'... He (President Kabbah) should have peacefully convinced Chief Norman to hand over himself to the SCSL, but instead allowed police officers to join forces with SCSL officials to humiliate and brutally arrest him, whilst performing his State functions'.

The treatment meted out to Norman during his initial arrest and detention was given prominence by the papers. The seriousness with which the issue was reported opened the eyes of many Sierra Leoneans to the plight of Norman and the other CDF indictees (now convicts). FDP (see Appendix III^{150, 166}) attacked Penfold's analysis that some of Norman's pre-trial rights

were being violated with impunity as he was locked-up in out-dated cells in Bonthe Island, meant for slaves. FDP (see Appendix III^{149, 155, 159}) commented that Norman should not be given any preferential treatment because his 'ethnic Kamajors army committed war crimes' and also stated that 'he deserved the treatments he received'.

ST (see Appendix III^{283, 287}) and Awoko (see Appendix III^{2, 3}) continued to oppose Norman's pre-trial detention, until his trial started. Kabbah's refusal to testify on behalf of Norman, as captured by the papers (see Appendix III^{238, 399-400}) can further strengthen the friction argument. Though Kabbah testified on behalf of RUF's Issa Sesay, for his role in the peace process; he denied testifying on behalf of Norman, who co-ordinated the operations of the CDF, leading to ECOMOG's triumph over the junta; and the eventual restoration of the SLPP. Inferentially, the nuances in the coverage of ST and Awoko on 'the Norman episode', point to the perception that Norman had become too powerful. Some members of the SLPP had already seen him as a potential successor to Kabbah, who had already begun making ways for his Vice President, Solomon Berewa to succeed him. So, Norman's 'trial and indictment' was reportedly calculated to eliminate him from the political race:

Being a lawyer by profession and believing that he should have knowledge of the operation of the Special Court, President Kabbah might have decided for Special Court as a way of getting rid of Chief Norman. This is probably not the first time President Kabbah has reportedly tried to get rid of Norman. Following the restoration of democracy in 1998, and the seeming popularity of Norman, President Kabbah reportedly craftily tried to get rid of Chief Norman by proposing to send him to Nigeria as Sierra Leone's ambassador. Chief Norman however refused. He did not however escape the spreading mesh of the Special Court this time (see Appendix III³³²).

To some (SLPP) party members, President Kabbah and his second in command, Solomon Berewa must have machinated the arrest of Hinga Norman...Some SLPP supporters blame in particular Berewa, who was Attorney- General and Minister of Justice when the Special Court was, set up...that Berewa saw Norman as a rival for the party leadership and that he and Kabbah were happy to see him arrested (see Appendix III⁴⁶⁵).

Thus, five (5) other controversial issues attracted serious media attention that appeared to have been central to this friction argument. The first was 'Norman's request (whilst in detention) to attend the SLPP's Convention in 2005', which was turned down by the SCSL (see Appendix III^{214, 379}). The second was the acrimonious legal tussle that ensued in Sierra Leone's Supreme Court about Norman's eligibility to stop the holding of the SLPP's National Convention in 2005, and the eventual denial of his applications by the Supreme Court (see Appendix III^{215, 381}).

The third was the contents of the critical letters ('From Special Court Detention...Hinga Norman and Co. Write South-Easterners and Kamajors, 'New Fault Lines in the Southern and Eastern Provinces') (see Appendix III³⁷¹), which Norman wrote to the Mendes and South-Easterners, warning them of Kabbah's and Berewa's conspiracy against the SLPP and the Mendes (see Appendix III^{48, 212}). The fourth was the emergence of the People's Movement for Democratic Change (PMDC), as a South-Eastern political party, and how it capitalised on the Kabbah-Norman friction to score a political goal that partially contributed to the demise of the SLPP after the 2007 Presidential elections' (see Appendix III^{115, 465}). The fifth was 'Norman's natural (unnatural) death and its effects on Sierra Leone's body politic' (see Appendix III^{101, 103}).

There were similarities and differences in the papers coverage of the above issues. There were also overlaps in the analyses on why Norman was not allowed to attend the SLPP's National Convention in 2005. The papers (see references above) alluded to the fact that Norman was an accused and would not have been accorded any privilege beyond what is prescribed by the Statute. FDP (see Appendix III²⁶²) used the Norman issue in the Supreme Court to project the political turmoil within the SLPP and simultaneously asserted that it would result in the eventual disintegration of the party. ST analysed this issue and blamed the SLPP for its predicaments, which it said were the machinations of Kabbah and Berewa. Awoko (see Appendix III⁵⁰⁻⁵¹) covered the proceedings and the ruling that subsequently emerged, but its analysis reflected only the merits of the decision. Chief Norman's warning letters to South-Easterners and the formation of the PMDC, were the other controversial issues, which FDP (see

Appendix III²⁶³) relied on to predict the fall of 'Torpoi' (SLPP). This was how ST reflected these issues:

The Southern and Eastern provinces are dominated by the Mende, whose lead the smaller ethnic groups follow. Traditionally the Mende support the SLPP but this is uncertain in the 2007 election given what many perceive as its role in the arrest and indictment of Hinga Norman, ex-head of the Kamajor militia, the core group of the CDF that fought the RUF...In prison, Norman became a rallying point for those opposed to the government and the Special Court, as well as for disillusioned Southern and Eastern Provinces youths who feel they have not benefited from the peace achieved...Margai, the PMDC leader, and long-time Bo resident, was lead defence counsel before the Special Court for one of Norman's fellow CDF defendants (see Appendix III⁴⁶⁵).

The circumstances leading to Norman's death were also extensively reported by the papers (see Appendix III^{101-103, 258-259, 455-456}). Divergences were not seen in the analysis that his death was unnatural, though the papers as well reported the 'news' as presented by the SCSL that he died after a successful hip replacement surgery (FDP, *ibid*, ST, *ibid*, Awoko, *ibid*). The papers further commented on his family position, that he died of unnatural cause and demanded another autopsy. The papers put out series of articles, reflecting the then opposition's (APC's) position regarding Norman's death. The APC dubbed the SLPP as ungrateful and accused it of crucifying its own stalwart (see Appendix III¹⁰³). Both ST (see Appendix III⁴⁵⁸) and Awoko (see Appendix III¹⁰⁶) also captured CSOs' position and projected the view that Norman was merely eliminated. In the final analysis, the SLPP lost the 2007 elections when the APC formed an alliance with the PMDC. The papers thus reflected Norman's indictment and trial and the PMDC phenomenon as fundamental factors that led to the SLPP's demise.

6.2.3 Territorial Integrity/Sovereignty and the Defence of Democracy/the SLPP Government

The other issues that surfaced in the papers' analyses are whether the Kamajors fought in defence of Sierra Leone's territorial integrity/sovereignty and democracy; or whether they fought for the restoration of the South-Eastern dominated SLPP Government. The thematic issues in this frame are collapsed into two sub-frames- 'Defending Sierra Leone's Sovereignty

and Democracy/ the SLPP Government’ and ‘the CDF Indictree and Convicts: National Heroes or War Criminals?’ I will deal with the salient issues in these sub-frames as they unfolded in the coverage.

Defending Sierra Leone’s Sovereignty and Democracy/the SLPP Government

From the analysis on the ‘Kamajors - Army Debacle’⁴⁷ it is clear that the Kamajors society had been in existence even before the SLPP re-surfaced in 1996. And the Kamajors initially operated in the South-East. However, it was when the SLPP took power that the Kamajors came to be involved in national security. ST (see Appendix III^{297, 306}) reflected the army’s role in a democracy and emphasised that it had no business in governance and further condemned the junta’s intervention. FDP (see Appendix III¹⁴⁸) condemned the executions of the mutineers (mostly Northerners) by the SLPP in 1998. Awoko (see Appendix III⁴⁰⁻⁴¹) alluded to the illegality of the May 25th 1997 coup, without condemning the SLPP for executing the twenty-four (24) mutineers.

ST and Awoko recounted how ECOMOG mobilised the Kamajors for the coordinated assaults against the junta and also made Norman’s role quite prominent.⁴⁸ They slanted most of their stories on this issue to reflect the role the CDF played in the fight against tyranny; with little emphasis on the atrocities which the Kamajors committed in the process. Conversely, FDP represented the Kamajors’ role in fighting the junta, with specific emphasis on the atrocities committed. The main issue here is whether the Kamajors either fought for democracy or the SLPP. Sierra Leone had been under the one-party APC dictatorship for twenty-four (24) years (Zack-Williams, op.cit: 13-25, Musah & Fayemi, op.cit: 86).

The media and CSOs relentlessly pressed for democracy, until it was eventually restored in 1996, with the return of the SLPP (See 3. 3, Hirsch, op.cit: 40-41). Significantly, ST (see Appendix III^{282, 309}) reflected that the May 25th 1997 coup was Northern dominated (see also Hirsch and Penfold as referenced above). The two main dialectics that came to influence the national discourses on this issue were represented differently by the papers. The first is the idea that the South-Easterners suspected that the AFRC’s coup was a Northern conspiracy (Hirsch, op.cit: 56

⁴⁷ See 6.3.1

⁴⁸ See 6.3.2

Gberie, op.cit: 154-155), meant to rob them of their right to rule and so the Kamajors were relied on to reverse the coup and restore the SLPP (see references in 6.2.2).

The second is the idea held by many Northerners that the 1996 elections which brought the SLPP to power were neither free nor fair. They capitalised on the facts that the Interim National Electoral Commission (INEC) deducted 70,000 excess votes cast in favour of the SLPP in the run-off elections and that 25% of the country's population (trapped in RUF's zones) was disenfranchised (Bundu, op.cit:54). Thus, ST (see Appendix III^{293, 373}) and Awoko lauded the role of the CDF in the restoration of democracy. The allegation that was being trumpeted during the AFRC/RUF interregnum, that the Kamajors were not fighting to restore democracy or President Kabbah, but to impose Norman as Head of State, was debunked by Peter Penfold, Brigadier Richards and Dr. Demby, whose testimonies were clearly reported and critically reflected upon by Awoko (see 6.2.2).

Awoko's (see Appendix III¹⁰⁸) Kelvin Lewis even interviewed Norman on the allegation at Base Zero, an allegation which he denied, and affirmed his commitment to democracy. It appears that ST's and Awoko's position resonated with the first of the two dialectics discussed above. Again, it seems that FDP's position is coterminous with the second dialectics. FDP clearly articulated that the Kamajors did not fight for the restoration of democracy in Sierra Leone. But they rather fought for the restoration of the SLPP and in the process violated the laws of war. The paper emphasised that the Kamajors would not have taken up arms to defend a government that was not South-Eastern dominated.⁴⁹

The CDF Indictree and Convicts: National Heroes or War Criminals?

The two thematic issues in this sub-frame logically follow from the above analysis and they subsequently became discourses embedded in the media's coverage and judgment of the CDF trial. The first is the 'heroic status', which is accorded to the CDF indictree (Norman) and convicts (Fofana and Kondowai), by ST and Awoko. The second is the 'war criminal status, which FDP

⁴⁹ See the following FDP's publications on these issues: 'Kamajors' (headline). The photo caption reads: 'Kamajor Militia: horrific tales of human butchery and cannibalism has soiled image of invincibility and fighting for true democracy to one of ulterior motives'!!!(FDP, Monday, September 13, 2004). 'FDP Exclusive: Hinga Norman's Trial Starts in BontheSherbro' (Monday, March 24th 2003:1). 'Peoples Democracy: The Special Court Arrests-Texts and Contexts' (ibid: 3). 'SLPP Young Generation Takes up Arms for Kamajors Chieftains: Norman Belongs to Tokpoi Family (Tuesday, April 2nd 2003: 3) etc.

accorded the CDF leaders, even before their trial began.⁵⁰ This 'heroic status' which both ST and Awoko clearly articulated in their pre-trial and trial analyses, appeared to be biased in favour of the CDF. Analytically, this finding is guided by Entman's theoretical and methodological criteria for evaluating 'media biases' in content analysis (see 2.2 and 5.1).

This conclusion is based on the inference that the coverage appeared to have been skewed to communicate the 'preferred meaning' (The CDF's Heroism), which the communicators (ST and Awoko) wanted their audiences (Sierra Leoneans and the international community) to take as a credible message (preferred reading). Conversely, FDP dubbed the CDF leaders 'War Criminals' even before they were convicted. This 'nuance' appeared to have contravened the presumption of innocence (Thompson, 1999:25-29, Williams, 1961:871-887). This also seems to be a manifestation of how FDP's coverage was biased against the CDF. This finding is also guided by the same Entman's theoretical and methodological criteria for evaluating 'media biases' in content analysis. Again, this conclusion is based on the inference that the coverage appeared to have been hyped to communicate the 'preferred meaning' (the Criminality of the CDF's Operations in Sierra Leone), which the communicator (FDP) wanted its audiences (Sierra Leoneans and the international community) to inculcate (the preferred reading).⁵¹

⁵⁰ The following ST's and Awoko's publications (which are critically deconstructed in the Discourse Analysis section- 6.5) contained a plethora of instances in which the 'heroic status' of the CDF leaders is emphasised and made salient: 'Former Kamajors Plan Big Demo' (ST, August 1st 2003), 'Calling on Another Moses (Wednesday, 30th July, 2003), 'Ripples in the Special Court' (14th March, 2003), 'Incredible Special Court Witnesses' (ST, 18th July, 2003), 'What Now Mr.. Crane?' (ST, Wednesday, 4th June, 2003), 'The TRC Report: An Embarrassment for Government (ST, ibid), 'David Crane and Mercenary Connection' (ST, Wednesday, 12th March, 2004), 'Nallo is Pathological Liar' (ST, 24th March, 2005), 'Chief Norman Asked Why Me?' (ST, Wednesday, 26th July, 2006), 'Five Hinga Norman Supporters Arrested' (Friday, 12th March, 2004), 'Kabbah's Envoy Storms the Provinces' (ST, Tuesday, March 14th 2003), 'I Got My Authority from Parliament-Norman's Last Speech' (ST, Midweek Edition, 30th April, 2003), 'Hinga Norman's Arrest: Peter Penfold Reacts' (ST, Thursday, 15th May, 2003), 'New Fault Lines in the South and Eastern Provinces' (ST, Thursday, 19th July, 2007), 'Kamajors Boss Speaks: Too Bitter to Swallow' (ST, Friday, 1st September, 2005), 'Limits to Transitional Justice: Ex-British High Commissioner Bullets Special Court' (ST, Tuesday, 15th March, 2005), 'Using Hinga Norman as Political Bargaining Chip' (ST, Tuesday, 31st May, 2005).

'Penfold Says Norman is a Hero' (Awoko, Thursday, 9th February, 2006), 'Disclosed: Norman, Fofana and Kondowai never Planned War' (Awoko, February 20, 2006), 'Norman is More Heroic than Kabbah'- Foh (Awoko, Tuesday, 27th February, 2007), 'Was Norman a Hero or Villain?' (Awoko, ibid), 'Kabbah Praises Norman' (Awoko, Wednesday, 28th February, 2007), 'Special Court is not Helping the Peace Process' (Awoko, ibid), 'Shut up Kabbah' (Awoko, ibid), 'Bo gives Norman Last Honour' (Monday, 2nd March, 2007), 'Bye Bye Chief Norman' (Awoko, Tuesday, 13th March, 2007), 'Norman Explains May 25th Coup' (Awoko, 25th January, 2006).

⁵¹ The following FDP's publications (which are critically analysed in the Discourse Analysis section- 6.5) clearly pointed to how the 'Criminality of the Operations of the CDF in Sierra Leone' was made salient: Special Court told how Kamajors killed and Chopped Chief and Town Speaker- The photo caption states: 'The Only Civil Defence Militia Indicted for Cannibalism in the War' (FDP, Wednesday, 23rd June, 2004), 'Kamajors'- The photo caption reads: 'Kamajor Militia: horrific tales of human butchery and cannibalism has soiled image of invincibility and fighting for true democracy to one of ulterior motives'!!!!(FDP, Monday, September 13, 2004), 'They killed and ate Palm Wine Tapper!' The photo caption indicates: 'Norman: Kamajor Chieftain Blamed for Cannibalism et. al' (FDP, ibid), 'State of the People: SLAM ME not'. 'There were certain societies that made it a practice of feeding on human flesh or 'yomoto' to those that were initiated as civil defence members' (FDP, ibid).

However, the role of the CDF leaders in fighting tyranny and restoring democracy was recognised even by the Judges of the Trial Chamber 1, but they cautioned that that could neither wave their individual criminal nor command responsibility in a joint criminal enterprise. The Judges that gave the majority Judgment were not Sierra Leoneans. However, Justice Bankole Thompson (the only Sierra Leonean Judge in the Trial Chamber 1), exonerated both ‘convicts (Fofana and Kondowai) on all eight counts’; emphasising that the defence of ‘necessity’, though not raised during the trial, accounted for the reason why the CDF took up arms to defend democracy and the people of Sierra Leone (Annex C: CDF Trial Chamber Judgment, 2007:C25-38).

The prosecution appealed the convictions of Fofana and Kondowai, claiming that the punishments were not commensurate with the seriousness of the crimes committed (see Appendix III¹¹⁷). Fofana did not appeal his conviction, but Kondowai did.⁵² And the Appeals Chamber on 28th May, 2008, upheld the prosecution’s case and increased the sentences of Fofana and Kondowai to fifteen (15) and twenty (20) years, respectively (Ibid: 186-192). The Appeals Chamber’s final judgment seems to have dovetailed with FDP’s ‘agenda setting’ ability, as manifested in its ‘news selection’, ‘framing’ and ‘priming’ strategies (see 3.2, 4.2 and 5.2), reflecting its editorial policy. Hence, the CDF leaders were dubbed ‘war criminals’, not ‘national heroes’.

ST and Awoko appeared to have set their own ‘agenda’ (through their own ‘news worthiness’ and ‘framing’ strategies); dubbing the CDF leaders as ‘national heroes’; as opposed to the Trial and Appeals Chambers’ verdicts. Another Sierra Leonean Judge of the Appeals Chamber, Justice Gelaga-King, in his partially dissenting judgment,⁵³ reversed Kondowai’s convictions pursuant to Article 6 (1) in respect of aiding and abetting murder (count 2) and cruel treatment (count 4), and upheld the Trial Chamber’s 1 judgment in respect of pillage (count 5), collective punishment (count 7) and conscripting children under the age of 15 years into fighting forces or groups or actively participating in hostilities (count 8). Justice King further dismissed the

⁵² CDF Appeals Chamber Judgment, 2008:11-15.

⁵³ See pages 1-37 of same.

prosecution's appeal and pontificated that it was devoid of merit. He climaxed his dissenting judgment with this rhetorical question:

Having regard to the historical facts in this case, could it be said that those of the International Community, such as Great Britain, the United States and Nigeria, who mandated Kondowai, ECOMOG, the CDF and their allies to fight for the restoration of the democratically elected Government and are, apparently, in a superior/subordinate relationship with Kondowai and the others, are guilty of War Crimes?

It is clear in the above analysis that the two Sierra Leonean Judges, radically departed from the position, which their colleagues in the Trial and Appeals Chambers took. It appears that the Sierra Leonean judges appreciated the sacrifices which, according to ST and Awoko, the CDF leaders made in the fight against tyranny and the restoration of democracy in Sierra Leone. Thus, one pertinent question that arises at this stage is whether the people of Sierra Leone supported the trial of the CDF leaders; or perceived it as a 'political machination' against their 'national heroes', who liberated them from the clutches of militarism.

6.2.4 The Resurgence of War Crimes Jurisprudence versus Political Expediency

The issues here are divided into two sub-frames: 'The Resurgence of War Crimes Jurisprudence' and 'Political Expediency'. I shall sequentially analyse the papers contents in so far as they relate to this sub-frame to determine the respective positions, which they took in the political debates.

The Resurgence of War Crimes Jurisprudence

International judicial intervention, which emerged at the end of World War II, as a robust response to Nazi's criminality (See 2.1), re-surfaced as a controversial response to intra-states conflicts after the Balkans' crises,⁵⁴ and was also replicated in Rwanda after the infamous 1994 genocide.⁵⁵ The conflict in Sierra Leone ended at a time when the need to subject war criminals to justice had become a common response to some of the most devastating conflicts in the

⁵⁴ See The UNO's Resolution 827 of 25th May, 1993.

⁵⁵ See The UNO's Resolution 955 of 8th November, 1994.

World. Thus, when Sierra Leone eventually resorted to bring some of its 'war criminals' to justice the papers sustained very critical debates regarding the issue. Initially, they appeared to have supported the need to get Sierra Leone's 'war criminals' to judicially account for their actions.

However, the papers' positions in the political debate changed when the chief prosecutor, David Crane, unsealed the indictments of the leaders of all the warring factions (AFRC, RUF and CDF). ST which initially overwhelmingly supported the establishment of the SCSL suddenly became critical of the court after the CDF leaders were indicted. The paper opposed the SCSL and called it an imperial judicial institution that was meant to target the heroic figures that liberated Sierra Leoneans from the scourges and clutches of tyranny, oppression and carnage;⁵⁶ and called on the international community (through the ICC) to subject former President George W. Bush and Prime Minister Tony Blair, to war crimes trials for the atrocities committed by American and British troops in Iraq and Afghanistan (Ibid).

The paper dubbed Crane a 'racist', and pointed to his alleged connections with 'mercenary outfits'.⁵⁷ ST also alleged that Crane was 'a biased' and 'an unprofessional prosecutor', who prejudiced the outcome of the CDF trial by pontificating that 'Chief Norman and the other indictees would never see the dawn of a free day' (See ST's Standard Point: 'What Now, Mr.. Crane'- Wednesday, 4th June, 2003; One Thing and Another: 'Banning Theophilus Gbenda'- Thursday, 10th March, 2005). The paper further accused Crane of being 'incompetent' and of 'dividing Sierra Leone', when he announced that he was resigning as SCSL's Chief Prosecutor. The following quotations from its Friday, 4th March, 2005 ('Special Courts David Crane Bows out in Shame') edition, contains some other damning comments which the paper made against Crane:

David Crane came to try people for cases he virtually had little or no idea about. We told him that Chief Norman and his comrades are heroes not villains, but he went about manufacturing witnesses to prosecute them. There is certainly no way one can defame

⁵⁶See ST's Commentary: 'Special Court's David Crane Bows out in Shame'- Friday 4th March, 2005: 2.

⁵⁷See ST's One Thing and Another: 'David Crane, the Runaway Prosecutor'-Monday 7th March, 2005:10, 'Crane and Mercenary Connection', 12th March, 2004.

members of the CDF. Time without number, we have tried to let David Crane understand that he was here on his so-called trials because of the sacrifices of the CDF for as a people we had a right to self-defence, and that was just what the CDF offered. When terrorists hit America in September, 2001, the Americans did not sit with hands between their legs or resign to fate. They did not only fight to forestall another attack, but even went out to strike military installations in suspected locations. Why should David Crane and his employers imagine that the people of this nation should have sat down with hands between their legs and wait to be decimated? David Crane, considering the way he used to brag about his Special Court, one would have imagined that the whole issue of Special Court trials should have long been a thing of the past. One legacy of David Crane would be his conscious attempt to divide our society. For the idea and existence of Special Court has been nothing other than an attempt to put a wedge among us. The question is did he succeed in dividing us? Certainly not, as we still believe in what the CDF did and above all, after all his efforts, it is David Crane that is leaving us. This land is ours and we will continue to stay here, certainly even if he thinks we are ignorant, we will prefer to remain so rather than take his form of enlightenment. Perhaps with reports of widespread human rights violations in Iraq and Afghanistan by US and British troops the service of David Crane would be needed there... When he initially came most of us tried to put sense into his head, since we witnessed the war and all its accompanying ills, but he refused to listen, believing that being a white man and a lawyer, he had all the intelligence and knowledge in his head. We are not lawyers not white Americans but we have the common sense, which is just what it takes to make a lawyer.

In fact, ST opined that the SCSL was created to try the leaders of the AFRC/RUF and not those of the CDF.⁵⁸ Apparently, the indictment of the CDF leaders was a surprise to Awoko that emphasised the CDF's patriotic role in the conflict (see references in 6.2.3). FDP however

⁵⁸See 'To Try or Not To Try: The Special Court- A Prophecy (ST, Wednesday, 20th September, 2006), 'Politicians Appeal for Hinga Norman's Release (ST, Friday, 6th May, 2005), 'Kamajors Boss Speaks: Too Bitter to Swallow' (ST, Friday, 1st September, 2005), 'Limits to Transitional Justice: Ex-British High Commissioner Bullets Special Court' (ST, Tuesday, 15th March, 2005), 'Using Hinga Norman as Political Bargaining Chip' (ST, Tuesday, 31st May, 2005).

reflected the significance of the SCSL in ending impunity. The paper thus catalogued the plethora of human rights violations committed by the Kamajors and further emphasised: 'how horrific tales of human butchery and cannibalism soiled (the Kamajors') image of invincibility and fighting for true democracy to one of ulterior motives'!!!' (see Appendix III²⁰³). FDF also drew an analogy between the indictments of the CDF leaders and that of the RUF's Issa Sesay. The paper stated that had the CDF leaders been given immunity, Issa Sesay should have been exempt from prosecution because of his role in ending the war. FDP critically analysed this controversial issue within the framework of texts and contexts:

Some guys stress the context- Chief Norman was resisting a degenerate rebellion. In that context, whatever else happened should be overlooked. Mr.. Issa Sesay was very instrumental in bringing peace to this land, given that situation, whatever else he did should be discounted. Many on the side of this argument blamed the government for not putting in place safeguards that would have prevented the arrest of persons in whose favour they are arguing for...The other guys stress texts, laws. They believe that contexts should not nullify texts. The question is whether or not the indictees violated legal texts and not for or against whom they violated the law'.⁵⁹

Political Expediency

Political expediency appeared to have clouded the perceptions of SLPP supporters (mostly South-Easterners), regarding the arrest and detention of the CDF leaders. There were clear divergences in the reportage. FDP's position is inferred from its analysis in the above sub-frame; that the issue of political expediency should not cloud the rule of law in an era when the resurgence of war crimes jurisprudence appeared to be a panacea for gross human rights violations in even intra-states conflict. Awoko's contention on this issue is seen in the context rationalised in FDP's critical analysis. However, though Awoko lent credence to war crimes jurisprudence, its analysis was skewed to reflect that only in respect of the trials of the AFRC/RUF leaders.

⁵⁹See FDP's Peoples Democracy: 'The Special Courts Arrests- Text and Context'- Monday, 24th March, 2003; 'The Special Court Arrests'- Wednesday, 26th March, 2003.

The paper appeared to have taken exceptions to this in respect of the CDF trial, by emphasising what FDP had rationalised as ‘context’ (see 6.5 and 6.6). This ‘context argument’ is what ST appeared to have rationalised and transformed into that of political expediency, by stressing the centrality of the CDF in the SLPP’s political agenda, Norman’s popularity and his influence over the Kamajors in the South-East and the tendency for the trial to cause serious fragmentations in the SLPP. Analytically, within the context of the CDF’s role in the conflict and the protection it offered the SLPP, it appeared that ST took the position that though it was necessary to try the AFRC/RUF leaders, it was ‘politically inexpedient’ for Kabbah to have allowed the CDF leaders to be indicted.

That also appeared to have been the reason why the paper published critical articles against Kabbah and how the SLPP campaign team for the 2007 elections lobbied the Kamajors and the CDF convicts.⁶⁰ However, FDP which emphasised ‘text’ appeared to have frowned at ‘selective justice’. The paper made this issue quite ‘salient’ in many of its articles against SLPP supporters, who felt the CDF leaders were betrayed.⁶¹

6.2.5 The Prosecution- Reconciliation Debate

The papers carried critical arguments about the workings of the different TJ models and how the post-conflict reconciliation process could maintain sustainable peace. The dialectics in the analysis between 6.2.1 and 6.2.4 reflected how the papers represented the issues germane to the judicial accountability approach to TJ, which is based on the idea that there can never be true peace and reconciliation without justice (see 3.3). Thus, the prosecution of war criminals in Sierra Leone (to some extent) addressed impunity, broke the cycle of violence and ushered in sustainable peace and reconciliation (Making Justice Count, op.cit: 2). Inferentially, the papers

⁶⁰ See Sam Hinga Norman’s Motion Rejected (ST, 7th November, 2003:1), ...’But Peter Penfold is a Whiteman’ (ST Wednesday, 14th May, 2003:4), ‘The Honeymoon Days are Over’ (ST, Wednesday, 22nd January, 2003: 8), ‘\$25, 000 for Chief Norman’s Lawyer’ (ST, Friday, 14th March, 2003:7), ‘Ripples in the Special Court’ (ibid, 2003: 7), ‘A Tale of Two Betrayals’ (ST, Tuesday, 27th May, 2003:7), ‘Former Kamajors Plan Big Demo’ (ST, Friday, 1st August, 2003:3), ‘Hinga Norman, 4 Others in Custody... Russian Warship Homes War Crimes Indictees’ (ST, Tuesday, 11th March, 2003: 1), ‘SLPP Bribes Mrs. Norman’ (ST, Monday, 24th March, 2003:1), Kabbah’s Envoy Storms the Provinces (ibid, 2003:8), ‘Embarrassment...SLPP Calls for Kabbah’s Indictment’.

⁶¹ See Hinga Norman’s Trial Starts in BontheSherbro (FDP, Monday, 24th March, 2003:1), ‘How the Mighty Have Fallen (FDP, Wednesday, 26th March, 2003:2), ‘SLPP Young Generation Take Up Arms for Kamajors Chieftain... Norman Belongs to Tokpoi Family’ (FDP, Friday, 28th March, 2003: 3), ‘Bread and Better for Norman’ (FDP, Tuesday, 8th April, 2003: 2), ‘Jay Jay! Another Way of Talking’ (FDP, Wednesday, 9th April, 2003:2), ‘Way Norman’s Food Was Rejected’ (Wednesday, 9th April, 2003: 9), ‘Kabbah Backs Special Court’ (FDP Tuesday, 15th April, 2003: 1), ‘People’s Letter’; ‘It Pains Me’ (Photo Captions: Norman Caged; Kabbah in Dilemma (FDP, Monday, 14th April, 2003:5), ‘Peter Penfold and Hinga Norman’ (FDP, Thursday, 8th May, 2003: 7-8).

appeared to have lent credence to the prosecutorial approach to TJ; albeit with seeming 'biases' in favour of or against the CDF. The issues of how the papers reflected the other reconciliatory models are thus contextualised here. ST (see Appendix III^{363-365, 472}) condemned the international community for the huge finances, time and other resources expended to prosecute selected war criminals, whilst foot-soldiers and middle level commanders, who committed the atrocities were never held accountable. ST thus suggested (in the above editions) that such resources should have been reserved for national reconciliation and development.

FDP lauded the need for judicial accountability. ST rationalised the need for reconciliation as opposed to the prosecution of the CDF leaders, with the intra-party political struggle that engulfed the SLPP. The paper represented that Kabbah used the prosecutorial argument to rope in Norman to make way for Berewa to lead the SLPP⁶². FDP (see Appendix III^{157, 158}) relied on the independence of the SCSL and articulated that Kabbah would not have prejudiced the court's independence by blocking Norman's indictment. ST (see Appendix III^{359-362, 367, 457}) raised questions regarding the court's fairness and independence from its funders, and capitalised on the negative effects of the witness protection scheme, and Crane's prejudicial comments before the CDF trial ended.

The paper (see Appendix III²⁹²) also captured how the Americans forced Sierra Leone's Parliament into ratifying an agreement, preventing Sierra Leone from handing Americans indicted by the ICC for war crimes. The paper further exposed how the Americans pressured the SLPP into subjecting Sierra Leone's heroes to war crimes trials and simultaneously promoting impunity, when it came to prosecuting Americans. FDP (see Appendix III^{163, 206}) also published some articles, questioning the independence of the SCSL from its funders, but did not oppose the witness protection scheme; neither did it take up issues with Crane, when he made his prejudicial comment against Norman. But it captured the controversy around the urge to convict and the act of withholding evidence from the defence and also reflected America's disdain for the ICC (see Appendix III^{165, 206}).

⁶² See references in the Kabbah-Norman friction sub-frame.

The question of plea bargaining with equally culpable war criminals in the name of holding higher echelons commanders responsible was also raised by ST. Thus, the paper dubbed Massallay and Nallo as criminals, used by the prosecution to nail the CDF leaders. Awoko (see Appendix III⁹⁹) projected the need to end impunity and the ideals of reconciliation, because it was practically impossible to try every perpetrator. FDP lent credence to the operations of the TRC and published 'the entire TRC Report', but criticised the SLPP for failing to accept some of its recommendations. Unlike FDP, Awoko (see Appendix III⁴⁶⁻⁴⁷) commented on some 'salient issues' in the report. It emphasised the need for the SLPP to accept the report as a blue-print for Sierra Leone's post-conflict governance. ST published a much larger portion and critical articles of its contents than Awoko.

The paper (see Appendix III^{359-362, 367, 457}) also condemned the SLPP's White Paper on the report and called on it to fully implement it. ST (see Appendix III^{352, 362}) further stated that the CDF leaders should have been brought before the TRC. This position was also re-echoed by Awoko (see Appendix III⁹⁹) in its analysis on the TRC and the CDF's role in the conflict. FDP supported the work of the TRC, but never said the CDF leaders should only face the TRC. Meanwhile, there were overlaps in the papers' analysis on the SCSL's refusal to allow Norman to face the TRC. The papers also analysed the implications of that decision for TJ in Africa and beyond.

The papers published critical articles condemning the SCSL and positing that Norman must be allowed to face the TRC, because of his pivotal role in the conflict. FDP and ST stated that Norman's public testimony would discredit Kabbah and expose his collusion with his anointed successor. FDP however, established that though it wanted Norman to face the TRC that should not have extricated him from the tentacles of the SCSL. Thus, it appears that FDP's support for Norman's proposed testimony to the TRC⁶³ was geared towards exposing Kabbah's affiliation with the Kamajors. The papers opposed the simultaneous institutionalisation of the prosecutorial and reconciliatory approaches to TJ. ST (see Appendix III^{294, 296, 306}) stated that Sierra Leone is the only country that set up a TRC and a Special Court at the same time to

⁶³ 'TRC Blasts Special Court- Norman Must be Allowed to Testify'- 'Norman Muted', Monday 3rd November, 2003:3:5, 'Special Court Has Outlived Its Usefulness'-Wednesday, 12th November, 2003:4.

resolve the same conflict. Regarding the reparation for war victims and the DDR programme,⁶⁴ ST and Awoko (see Appendix III³⁷¹) recounted the successes which the latter recorded, but singled out its failures relative to widespread corruption and the fact that the CDF did not even benefit from the DDR programme.

FDP (see Appendix III^{148, 198}) did not reflect the CDF- DDR episode, but reported the widespread corruption that affected the programme. The papers however presented the case of the amputees and the war wounded soldiers. Their (see Appendix III^{24, 29, 151}) analyses also encompassed the inauguration of the plethora of post-conflict governance institutions;⁶⁵ and those that were reformed⁶⁶ in building democratic legitimacy in the country. Essentially, the papers raised critical arguments pointing to the need for the executive to allow the above democratic institutions to function, consonant with the democratic ideals for which they were established.

6.3 Content Analysis: The Quantitative Dimension

From the above analysis, the papers appeared to have lent credence to judicial accountability, albeit with seeming 'biases' in favour of (ST and Awoko) or against (FDP) the CDF leaders. It is also clear that the papers reflected virtually all the reconciliatory models, with seeming 'biases' that the CDF leaders should or should not have only faced the TRC. Analytically, the coverage of the above issues, and the controversies that surrounded the discourses of the main and sub-frames,⁶⁷ were characterised by seeming 'biases' on the part of the papers frames.'

To further validate this finding, I shall quantitatively evaluate how the papers attempted to separate their 'views' from the actual 'news contents'. This will, inter alia, point to the degree to which each of the papers strove to achieve the idealised norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy' (Lichtenberg, 2000: 238-254). It will also help invalidating whether the papers' coverage, appeared to have been marked by ethno-regional biases. This is against the backdrop that the media in Sierra Leone is still grappling with the problems of communications ethics (see 3.4).

⁶⁴See IV, XVI and XXIX of the LPA and ACT No.13 of 2001 as Amended by Act No. 8 of 2003.

⁶⁵CMR.RD, NCRRR/NaCSA, ACC, NEC, NCHR and NCD

⁶⁶The Judiciary, the Police and the Armed Forces

⁶⁷See 6.3.1, 6.3.2, 6.3.3, 6.3.4 and 6.3.5

Table 1: For Di People's Reportage (CDF trial)

MEDIA CONTENTS	PRE-TRIAL	TRIAL		POST-TRIAL
	(March 2003- November 2003)	PROSECUTION (June 2004- May 2005)	DEFENCE (January 2006- October 2006)	January 2007- August 2007
N	8	8	18	3
V	22	11	17	3
US	15	13	8	16

Table 2: Standard Times' Reportage (CDF trial)

MEDIA CONTENTS	PRE-TRIAL	TRIAL		POST-TRIAL
	(March 2003- November 2003)	PROSECUTION (June 2004- May 2005)	DEFENCE (January 2006- October 2006)	(January 2007- August 2007)
N	12	17	3	10
V	17	19	2	10
US	15	14	12	3

Table 3: Awoko's Reportage (CDF trial)

MEDIA CONTENTS	PRE-TRIAL	TRIAL		POST-TRIAL
	(March 2003- November 2003)	PROSECUTION (June 2004- May 2005)	DEFENCE (January 2006- October 2006)	January 2007- August 2007
N	15	19	30	16
V	6	5	1	13
US	8	5	3	4

The tables (1, 2 and 3) above show the representation of the publications of FDP, ST and A; categorised into News (N), Views (V) and Unclassified Stories(US) for the pre-trial, trial and post-trial phases. Even though the pre-trial period spanned for up to fifteen months (March, 2003-June, 2004); the analysis focuses on only the first nine months (March, 2003- November, 2003). It started in March, 2003, because that was when the CDF leaders' indictments were unsealed. The trial period lasted for twenty- nine months (i.e. between June, 2004 and November, 2006). The analysis regarding this period is divided into the case for the prosecution

and that of the defence. This spanned up to fourteen (14) months; but the analysis reflecting this period covered only the first twelve (12) months, which are considered sufficient to gauge the trend in the papers' analyses of the prosecution's case. The case for the defence commenced in January and ended in October, 2006. And the analysis (see tables 1, 2 and 3) covered the whole period (ten months) for which the defence's case lasted.

The post-trial phase, which commenced after the Trial Chamber 1 delivered its judgment, ended with the pronouncement of the Appeals' Chamber judgment in 2008, but the analysis reflects the period January to August, 2007- it would have been unrealistic to analyse all the contents of the papers for the period for which the trial lasted. Building on the generalisation that communications research observations are inevitably 'selective' and 'incomplete' (Treadwell, op.cit:7), the analysis is thus restricted to the periods depicted in tables 1, 2 and 3.

Table 4: The Selected Media's Total Reportage (CDF trial)

MEDIA CONTENTS	PRE-TRIAL	TRIAL		POST-TRIAL
	(March 2003- November 2003)	PROSECUTION (June 2004- May 2005)	DEFENCE (January 2006- October 2006)	January 2007- August 2007
N	35	44	51	29
V	45	35	20	26
US	38	32	23	23

Table (4) presents the total of News, Views and Unclassified Stories of FDP, ST and A for all three periods. According to Allison Cooper, Chief of Press and Public Affairs and former court reporter, quoted in Lang (op.cit:3), 'press coverage tends to focus on prosecution during the early stages when indictments are unsealed, and then shifts when defence begins to presents its case'. The first limb of this statement appeared to have been validated by the total pre-trial and trial (N 35+ V 45+ US 38=118;N 44 + V 35 + US 32= 111) publications of the papers. Thus, precisely 229 (118 pre-trial + 111 trial) contents were published during the periods when the prosecution unsealed the indictments and prosecuted the CDF leaders. This point to the level of attention, which the papers extended to the prosecution of the CDF leaders; and the salience

and valence, which they attributed to the prosecution's case, as seen in the analysis between 6.2.1 and 6.2.5. Moreover, even the second limb of Coopers' observation that media coverage 'shifts when the defence begins to present its case' seems to have been supported by the findings in this quantitative analysis (N 51+ V 20 + US 23= 194). Thus, the precise contents (194), which the papers published throughout the defence's case, are lesser than those which they published during both the pre-trial and trial phases.

Table 5: Comprehensive Representation of the Reportage (CDF trial)

MEDIA CONTENTS	MEDIA HOUSE	PRE-TRIAL	TRIAL		POST-TRIAL
		(March 2003- November 2003)	PROSECUTION	DEFENCE	January 2007- August 2007
			(June 2004- May 2005)	(January 2006- October 2006)	
N	ST	12	17	3	10
	A	15	19	30	16
	FDP	8	8	18	3
V	ST	17	19	2	10
	A	6	5	1	13
	FDP	22	11	17	3
US	ST	15	14	12	3
	A	8	5	3	4
	FDP	15	13	8	16

This table (5) depicts a clear breakdown of table 4 regarding the coverage of the individual newspapers. Essentially, this table is graphically represented for a much more clear analysis and presentation in the subsequent graphs.

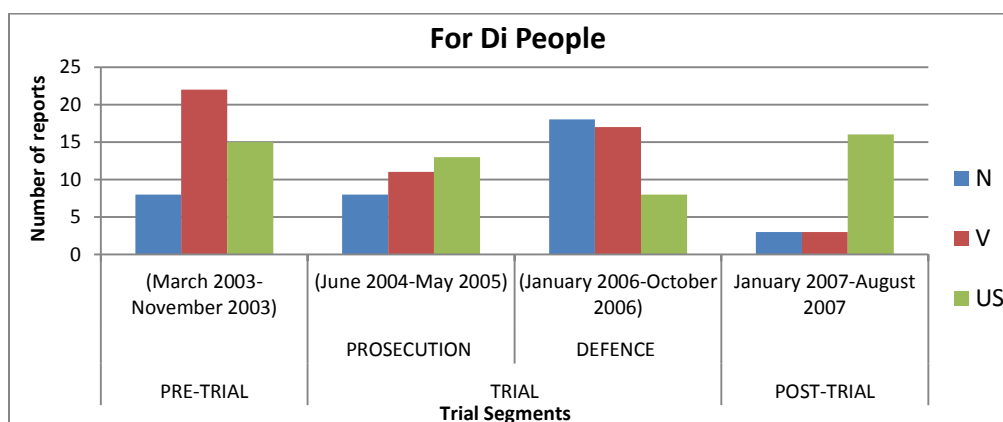


Figure 1: For Di People's Reportage (CDF trial)

The above graph shows how FDP represented the trial. The paper carried forty-five (45) pre-trial dispatches. The News contents amounted to eight (8), the Views and Unclassified Stories, amounted to twenty-two (22) and fifteen (15) respectively. This indicates that FDP paid much more attention to the publication of Views and Unclassified Stories ($22 + 15 = 37$) than to the dispatch of the actual News contents. It can thus be contended that the Views and Unclassified stories were framed with the most effectively chosen nuances that reflected the media communicator's (FDP's) texts (preferred meanings) which the audiences (CSOs representatives) may or may not have taken (preferred readings), depending on their perceptual tendencies. This same trend is continued in the trial and post-trial phases.

The News contents dispatched in both phases {trial $18+8 = 26$ + post-trial $3 = 29$ }, cannot be equated with the total contents on Views and Unclassified Stories {trial $(11 + 17 + 3 = 31)$ + post-trial $(13 + 8 + 16 = 37)$; $37 + 31 = 68$ } which the paper published during both the trial and post-trial phases. Analytically, this appears to have confirmed the analysis' qualitative dimension, which establishes (relying on the 2007 Entman's theoretical and conceptual framework for evaluating media biases) that FDP's numerous publications, seemed to have been biased against the CDF. The paper's Owner and Editor-in- Chief (Paul Kamara) being a Northerner, happens to be the Minister of Sports in the present Northern dominated APC Government. Paul Kamara, alongside other Northerners (including SU Thoronka and Sallieu Kamara), extensively covered the CDF trial. Building on the theoretical argument that 'News production is a discourse anchored by the ideology of news producers or those who employ them' (Watson, op.cit: 130), it appears that the numerous FDP's publications were tainted with Northern 'ethno-regional' prejudices against the CDF leaders, whom the paper dubbed as 'war criminals' (Northern bias) and not 'National heroes' (South- Eastern bias). This position became clear in FDP's coverage even before the CDF leaders were convicted. Hence, it is contended that FDP appeared to have failed to uphold the idealised norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy' in its coverage of the CDF trial.

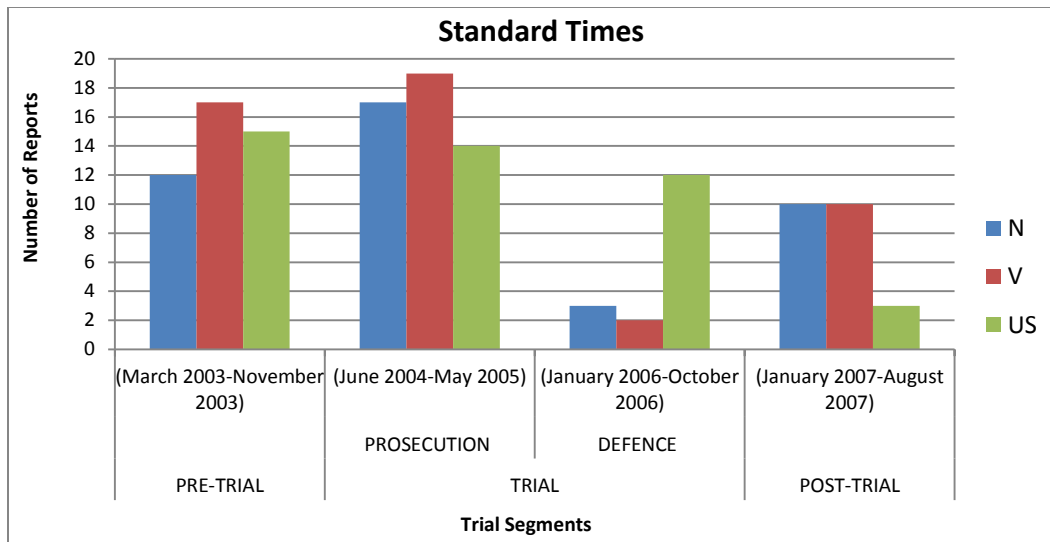


Figure 2: Standard Times' Reportage (CDF trial)

This graph shows how ST represented the trial. The paper published forty-four (44) pre-trial contents. The News contents amounted to twelve (12), the Views and Unclassified Stories, amounted to seventeen (17) and fifteen (15) respectively. This implies that ST paid much more attention to the publication of Views and Unclassified Stories ($17 + 15 = 33$) than to the dispatch of the actual News contents. It can thus be contended that the Views and Unclassified Stories, were framed with the most effectively chosen nuances that reflected the media communicators' (ST's) texts (preferred meanings) which the audiences (CSOs representatives) may or may not have taken (preferred readings), depending on their perceptual tendencies. This same trend is continued in the trial and post-trial phases.

The News contents dispatched in both phases {trial $17 + 3 = 20$ + post-trial $10 = 30$ }, cannot be equated with the total contents on Views and Unclassified Stories {trial $(19 + 2 + 10 = 31)$ + post-trial $(14 + 12 + 3 = 27)$; $27 + 31 = 58$ } which the paper published during both the trial and post-trial phases. Analytically, this appears to have confirmed the analysis' qualitative dimension, which establishes (relying on Entman, *ibid*) that the numerous pre-trial, trial and post-trial publications of ST, seemed to have been biased in favour of the CDF. Even though the owner of the paper (Philip Neville) is neither a Southerner nor an Easterner, the paper's longest serving Editor-in-Chief (Karim-Sei) and his committed staff (Augustine Beecher, Mohammed Abu, Mohammed Issa, Theophilus Gbenda and KamourNdullu), who extensively covered the CDF

trial are South-Easterners. Again, building on Watson's (op.cit: 130) theoretical argument (see analysis on FDP above), it appears that ST's numerous publications, seemed to have been tainted with South-Eastern 'ethno- regional' prejudices in favour of the CDF leaders, whom the paper dubbed as 'National heroes' and not 'war criminals'. Hence, it appears that ST seemed to have failed to uphold the idealised norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy' in its reportage of the CDF trial.

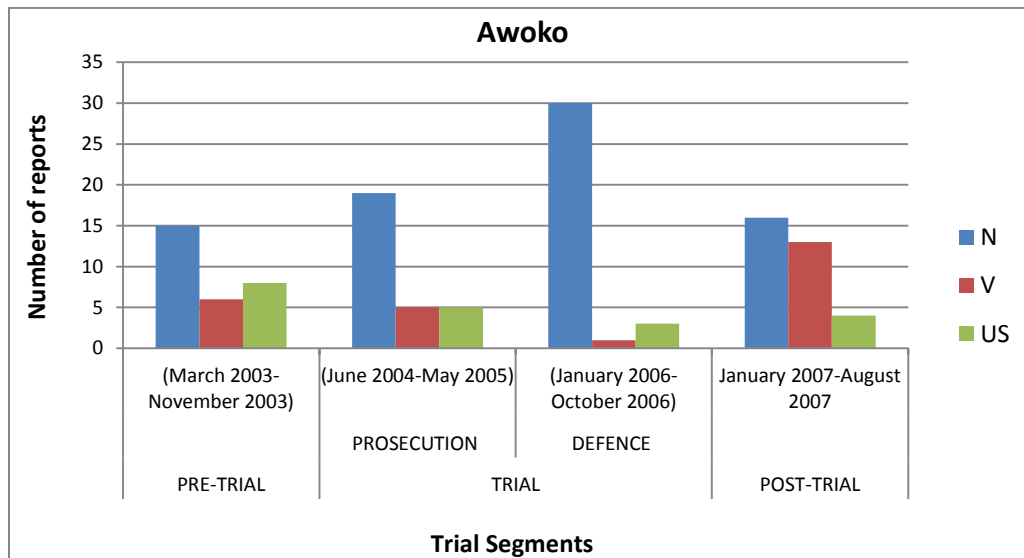


Figure 3: Awoko's Reportage (CDF Trial)

This graph shows how Awoko represented the trial. The paper published twenty-nine (29) pre-trial contents. The News contents amounted to fifteen (15); the Views and Unclassified Stories amounted to six (6) and eight (8) respectively. It is clear from this quantification that Awoko paid much more attention to the publication of News contents (15) than the dispatches of Views (6) and Unclassified Stories (8) put together (6 + 8= 14). Thus, it appears that Awoko (unlike FDP and ST) strove in its pre-trial reportage to uphold the idealised norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy'. This finding appears to have reflected the journalist's position of what is news (see 4.2). But relying on Fowler (op.cit: 1-3), Altschull (op.cit:23) Watson (op.cit: 120-141), Severin & Tankard (op.cit: 101-102), Smith (Op.cit:34- 41, 47-53) and Entman (Op.cit:165), it can be argued that Awoko's 'socially constructed realities' (its pre-trial news contents) were not neutral.

Hence, they appeared to have been framed to reflect its (Awoko's) texts (preferred meanings), which the audiences (CSOs representatives) may or may not have taken (preferred readings), depending on their perceptual tendencies. This same trend is continued in the paper's trial and post-trial phases. The News contents dispatched in both phases {trial 19 + 30 = 49 + post-trial 16= 65), cannot be equated with the total contents on Views and Unclassified Stories {trial (5 + 1 + 13 = 19) + post-trial (5 + 3 + 4= 12); 19 + 12 = 31} which it published during both the trial and post-trial phases. Analytically, this appears to have confirmed the analysis' qualitative dimension, which establishes (relying on Entman, *ibid*) that the numerous pre-trial, trial and post- trial publications of Awoko appeared to have been biased in favour of the CDF.

The paper's support for the CDF leaders is also seen in the fact that it paid much more attention to the CDF's case than that of the prosecution (see graph above). Awoko thus reported the entire case for the defence (see graph above) with its chosen nuances and slants that factually informed the issues as elucidated in the qualitative dimension of this analysis. Inasmuch as there is evidence of Awoko's seeming biased reportage in favour of the CDF, there is no evidence to substantiate the argument that that seeming 'biasness' was occasioned by 'ethno-regional' considerations, as neither the owner of the paper, nor the reporters that covered the trial can be said to have had any affinity with the Southern and Eastern regions that have been supportive of the CDF.

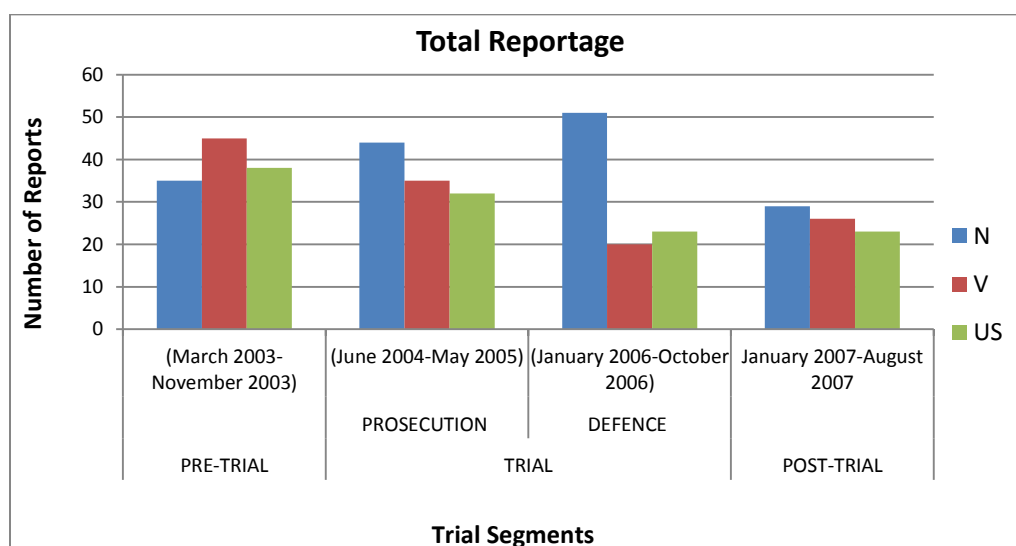


Figure 4: The Selected Media's Total Reportage (CDF trial)

This representation depicts the graphic presentation of the tabular data represented in table 4 as explicated above.

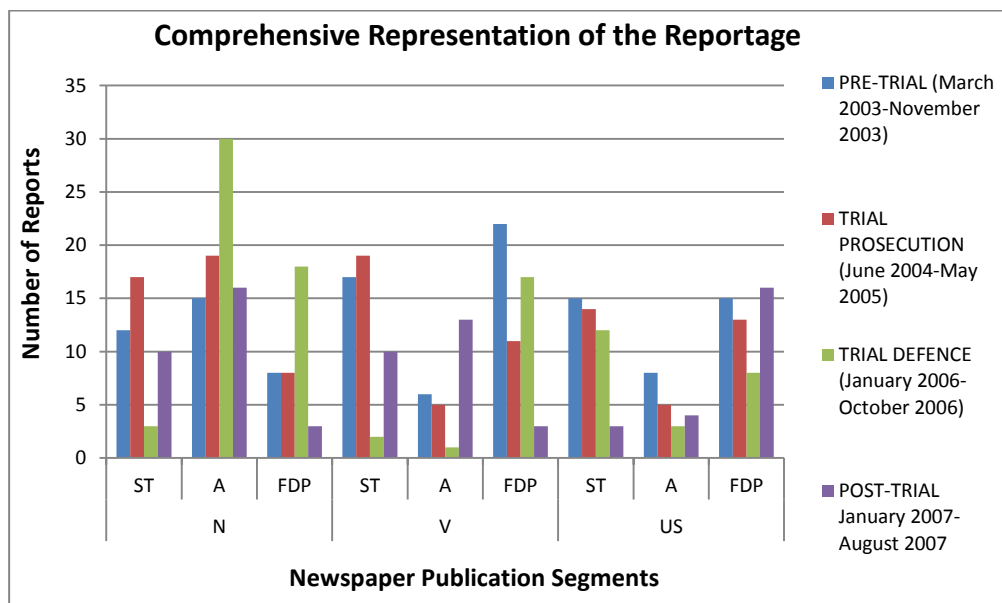


Figure 5: Comprehensive Representation of the Reportage (CDF trial)

This representation depicts the graphic presentation of the tabular data represented in table 5 as explicated above.

6.4 Discourse Analysis

The qualitative and quantitative dimensions of the content analysis (6.2 and 6.3) clearly depict how the selected media represented the CDF trial (see research question 1). Clear evidence of ethno-regional prejudices are seen in the agenda-setting ability; manifested in the news selection, framing and priming strategies of both FDP and ST. And both papers to a very limited extent, strove to separate their Views from the actual News contents, which they put out for consumption at the psychological and sociological levels (see 5.1). Even though there is evidence of bias in Awoko's reportage, that bias was not evidentially propelled by ethno-regional prejudices; and there is also evidence that the paper to a very large extent, strove to separate its Views from the actual News contents which it published; and thus attempted to a greater degree to uphold the idealised norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy', as opposed to FDP and ST. Essentially, to further validate the above findings, a discourse analysis is done on the main discourses that factually informed the frames and sub-frames. Moreover, the findings

from the interviews conducted with the journalists, who covered the CDF trial, are again subjected to a discourse analysis in a bid to further validate the above findings.

6.4.1 For Di People (FDP)

A critical analysis of the discourses that evolved from the frames and sub-frames in the qualitative content analysis appears to have revealed a case of serious ethno-regional tension, which had polarised Sierra Leone's body-politic, even before the war started. This tension seemed to have reflected in the reportage of FDP, which appeared to have maintained a Northern posture in its News, Views and Unclassified Stories. FDP continually used words that unequivocally denote and connote negative semantic loads (Mautner, op.cit:38) against the Mendes of the South- East. It is clear from the CDF's indictment (as enunciated in 6.1) that Norman, Kondowai and Fofana, were never charged with cannibalism, but FDP constantly reported that 'cannibalism'⁶⁸ was one of the charges proffered against the CDF leaders. The intentional and continual use of the diction 'cannibalism' appears to have denoted FDP's prejudices against the CDF leaders and as well demonstrates negative semantic loads, indicating how ferocious and deadly the Kamajors were.

Again, FDP described the Kamajors as 'butchers', 'hoodlums', 'blood thirsty power ethnicists' (see Appendix III^{147, 151, 152, 158, 168, 190, 203-204, 207, 208, 237}) or were dubbed 'criminals', 'hooligans', 'ritual killers' and 'looters' (see Appendix III^{208, 233, 236-237, 246, 255-256}). The choice of the above negative words is arguably calculated (Fowler, op.cit:1-4 Van Dijk, 1998: 241, Mautner, op.cit: 38) to drive home some negative perceptions into the minds of audiences (CSOs representatives in this case). The following inciting comments are discernible from the above publications:

⁶⁸'Norman: Charged with cannibalism' (Monday, 23 March, 2003). 'Special Court told how Kamajors killed and Chopped Chief and Town Speaker' (headline). The photo caption states: 'The Only Civil Defence Militia Indicted for Cannibalism in the War' (Wednesday, 23rd June, 2004). 'Kamajors' (headline): The photo caption reads: 'Kamajors Militia: horrific tales of human butchery and cannibalism has soiled image of invincibility and fighting for true democracy to one of ulterior motives'!!! (Monday, 13th September, 2004). 'They killed and ate Palm Wine Tapper!' (Headline) The photo caption indicates: 'Norman: Chieftain Blamed for Cannibalism...' (ibid) 'State of the People: SLAM ME not' (headline) 'There were certain societies that made it a practice of feeding on human flesh or 'yomoto' to those that were initiated as civil defence members' (ibid). 'Peter Penfold and Hinga Norman' (headline). 'Penfold might have eaten human flesh while dining with Norman in Camp Zero' (FDP, Wednesday, May 7, 2003). 'Lawyers and the Hinga Norman Propaganda' (headline). 'He is being charged with human rights abuses, including cannibalism. Let us give the court a chance for us to ponder how come a minister is engaged in cannibalism. If this is the case that Sierra Leoneans were chopping their fellow country- men, then the crisis is far more serious than many would want to think or accept... There are some people who have written articles justifying cannibalism during war' (FDP, Wednesday, 28th May, 2003).

1. The Mendes of the South and East are blood thirsty power ethnicists; who hatched a ferocious and demonic conspiracy to annihilate Northerners during the war years in defence of their regions (Juxtapose this with the interview in transcription 2).
2. They condoned the criminality of the Kamajors, strengthened their capacity and pampered them with the much needed logistics to illegally prosecute the war (ibid).
3. The Kamajors committed despicable crimes against the people of Sierra Leone (particularly Northerners and journalists); hence they were 'criminals', 'cannibals', 'butchers' and 'hooligans'; who were judiciously subjected to war crimes trials to account for their criminality (ibid).
4. 'Their political party (the SLPP) maligned and destroyed the national army to perpetuate their stay in power through ruthless Kamajors' protection (ibid).
5. That the army did not do anything wrong in deposing the SLPP ethnicists from power in 1997 (ibid).

6.4.2 Standard Times (ST)

ST appeared to have maintained a South-Eastern slant in its reportage and refrained from invoking words that would have portrayed the SLPP (as FDP did) as either a South-Eastern political party or a political entity that fanned the flames of ethno-regional prejudices and disenchantment. The paper did not demonise the Kamajors society (as FDP did). ST regarded the Kamajors as 'national heroes', 'noble fighters', 'brave fighters', 'redeemers', 'liberators', 'patriots', 'restorers of peace and democracy', and 'a militia group that formidably resisted the deadly junta regime' (see Appendix III^{297, 301, 306-307, 322, 324, 365, 372, 435}); whereas forces loyal to the AFRC/RUF junta were described as 'coupists', 'criminals', 'so-bels', 'deadly junta regime', 'thugs', 'rebels', 'collaborators', 'renegade soldiers', 'killers' etc (see Appendix III^{286, 289, 294-295, 370, 425, 442, 450, 465}).

The semantic values of such positive descriptions of the Kamajors and the persistent reference to the SLPP as the ‘democratically’ and ‘constitutionally elected government’, was arguably calculated to drive home the positive perceptions into the minds of audiences that the CDF leaders were national heroes (see transcriptions 3 and 5); the Kamajors did not do anything wrong in fighting the forces loyal to the AFRC/RUF junta (ibid), and that had it not been for their tireless resistance, the reign of terror and militarism would never have come to an end, and that the junta blatantly defiled Sierra Leone’s Constitution (ibid); and therefore had no legitimacy to govern; and hence the legitimate government was rightly restored (ibid). That was arguably how ST wanted CSOs representatives across Sierra Leone to read and interpret its pre-trial, trial and post-trial texts (preferred readings) in condemnation of the junta, but made laudable commendations of the Kamajors.

6.4.3 Awoko

Awoko’s reportage of the discourses in the main and sub-frames was slightly different from ST, but different by far from that of FDP. The paper’s semantic values of the dictions, which were carefully chosen to report the proceedings, seemed to have contained nuances devoid of ethno-regional prejudices, but they were carefully framed to achieve the paper’s desired effect on audiences. The paper did not (as FDP did) ‘attribute responsibility to either the South-Easterners or the SLPP for the reckless destruction of lives and property in Sierra Leone’; ‘neither did it accuse the SLPP of marginalising and/or undermining the army and capacitating the Kamajors at the detriment of national disintegration’; nor did it allege that ‘the South-Easterners had hatched a diabolic plan to systematically annihilate Northerners’ (see Appendix III^{52, 56, 80, 84}; see also analysis between 6.3.1 and 6.3.5 for additional references).

Awoko seldom demonised the Kamajors in its coverage, though there were some instances in which the paper did publish stories containing ‘horrific testimonies’ about Kamajors’ atrocities. Awoko also seldom used horrific images to describe the Kamajors as ‘cannibals’, ‘butchers’, ‘blood thirsty power ethnicists’, ‘criminals’, ‘thieves’, ‘hooligans’, ‘looters’, ‘killers’ (as FDP did) etc. There were so many instances in which the paper dubbed Norman a ‘national hero’; and extolled the efforts of the CDF in restoring peace and democracy to Sierra Leone (as

ST did). The paper often used the acronym 'CDF' (which is quite national) as opposed to 'Kamajors' (which according to FDP denote a 'tribal army of criminals and cannibals') in its reportage.

The very limited instances in which the paper chose 'words' and 'expressions' that denote 'cannibalism', 'butchery', 'criminality' and 'killings' on the part of the Kamajors, were restricted to only those pieces of evidence, which the prosecution elicited from their factual witnesses, which were later reconstructed and subsequently passed- off for societal consumption as news. From the perspective of Awoko, such publications can be said to be 'quite innocuous', 'balanced' and 'accurate'; but Awoko's critics could employ Entman's (op.cit:52), McQuail's (op.cit:343-344) and Tankard's (op.cit: 101) framing devices to deconstruct such texts and prove that even though they were sourced with the testimonies of factual witnesses; they were skewed against the CDF and in favour of the prosecution.

However, throughout the period covered by this study, I could hardly discover any 'editorial', 'commentary', 'feature article', 'opinionated piece', or 'view', published by Awoko that described the Kamajors as 'cannibals', 'butchers', 'killers', 'criminals', 'thieves', 'looters' etc. Since such derogatory dictions, appeared not to have been used in the 'Views' and 'Unclassified Stories' and even most of the 'News' contents, which Awoko published between 2003 and 2007, coupled with the articles in which Chief Norman and the CDF were extolled for the restoration of democracy (see Appendix III^{65, 71, 103, 108-109, 111}); it would be reasonable to conclude that Awoko chose not to condemn the CDF leaders, but to commend them for what did they for Sierra Leone (see transcription 6).

6.5 Semi-Structured Interviews

To further validate the findings from the content and discourse analyses, the need arose to gauge the opinions of journalists, who covered the trial, through semi-structured interviews. Paul Kamara and SU Thoronka of FDP, Ibrahim Karim-Sei, Theophilus Gbenda and Mohammed Abu of ST, Kelvin Lewis and Betty Milton of Awoko consented to the interviews. They answered questions regarding their papers' editorial policies on TJ; whether the setting up of the SCSL was of any benefit to Sierra Leone; whether their coverage was biased in favour of the

prosecution or the CDF, or whether it was tainted with ethno-regional biases, how the reportage influenced post-conflict opinions etc. I will focus on the views expressed by the editors, since it is they who implemented their papers' editorial policies.

References will be made to the supporting or opposing views expressed by their reporters. To the questions why they chose to be involved in the country's TJ process and their papers' editorial policies on the subject, the journalists articulated their responsibility to objectively communicate the country's TJ process to all and sundry (see transcriptions 1-7). FDP's editor, Kamara, added that he had been a critical journalist and a civil society and human rights activist, who told the truth that was not told to the TRC (see transcription 2). Thus, the journalists arguably performed their role of informing and educating all and sundry about TJ in Sierra Leone.

Concerning the question whether the setting up of the SCSL was of any benefit to any local or international persons or institutions, the responses were mixed. FDP's staff rationalised the court's successes in addressing impunity and upholding the rule of law (see transcriptions 1 & 2). They as well contended that the moneys spent to try Sierra Leone's war criminals, were well expended and that such moneys could not have been better spent on post-conflict reconciliation and development. These views were also shared by Awoko's staff (see transcriptions 6 and 7).

The paper's editor, Lewis, stated that there would not have been sustainable peace and reconciliation in Sierra Leone without justice. He said that the moneys were wisely spent to act as a deterrent against criminality, noting that had they been spent on reconstruction alone, another rebellion would have erupted, distorting the reconstruction process. He also stated that the court was right in trying those who bore the greatest responsibility, because given its limited resources; it would have been practically unrealistic to try all the perpetrators (see transcription 6). Lewis furthered that the SCSL immensely benefited the country, as it worked towards ending impunity, though the court faced initial challenges with the TRC, because ex-combatants felt their genuine testimonies to the TRC were going to be used against them in the SCSL (see transcription 6).

The paper's war crimes reporter, Milton, buttressed Lewis's arguments and emphasised that though the SCSL did not completely address impunity, it sent fears to potential perpetrators that they would never commit war crimes and go unpunished, stating that Sierra Leone was not plunged into violence during the 2007 elections because of the presence of the SCSL (see transcriptions 6 & 7). ST's staff acknowledged the role of the SCSL in dividing Sierra Leone, with specific reference to how the CDF trial was unwelcomed by many Sierra Leoneans because of its role in restoring the legitimate government. They further contended that the CDF leaders should have faced the TRC instead of the SCSL and that the moneys expended in the trials should have been better spent on post-conflict reconciliation and reparation for war victims (see transcriptions 3, 4 & 5).

The paper's editor, Karim-Sei, also said the initial public perception was for the SCSL to try the leaders of the AFRC/RUF, but when the CDF leaders were indicted, it became difficult for people to understand what was going on, adding that he knew the difficulty of getting factual witnesses and huge operating costs, were going to pose major challenges to the court. He furthered that SCSL did not provide the swift and sustainable justice that would have maintained the kind of peace and security which the country needed. He noted that ST advocated for adequate compensations for amputees and war victims, who are now hopelessly rooming the streets of Freetown, with nobody to support them (see transcription 3).

The paper's senior war crimes reporter, Gbenda, explained that he conducted interviews with some key personnel of NaCSA on the status of the reparation schemes and they told him funds were not available, stating that the schemes failed because of widespread corruption. Gbenda further noted that the SCSL created lucrative jobs only for foreign nationals, but the victims of the war (the indigenes) were left in abject poverty and frustrations (see transcription 5). The Staff Writer, Abu, said that the DDR scheme appeared to have been successful, but the reparation schemes were not properly implemented (see transcriptions 5).

On the reconciliation episode, Abu indicated that Sierra Leone should have adopted the South African model, which eschewed prosecution, but encouraged perpetrators to come forth and tell their stories, ask for forgiveness and develop a solid reconciliatory system. Instead the SCSL

ended up re-opening old wounds and members of the respective warring factions became witnesses for the prosecution against their peers with whom they committed the same atrocities (see transcription 5). Gbenda noted that the SCSL hampered the work of the TRC because it prevented indictees from appearing before the TRC, adding that even the RUF leaders should not have been tried, because they were not defeated in the battlefield; but they rather conceded to a peaceful negotiation culminating in the Amnesty clause in the LPA. He emphasised that genuine reconciliation should have been the only way out (see transcription 4).

He also posited that the CDF trial has created a kind of tribal concern and has discouraged the formation of ethno-regional militias, noting that whenever there is a rebellion people would be afraid to embark on such enterprises for fear of being prosecuted. He said that though the trial was meant to serve as a deterrent, the justice that was handed down was selective and biased because Crane had made prejudicial comments against Norman even before the trial commenced. He concluded by stating the challenges that beset post-conflict Sierra Leone, noting that the victims of the war are still languishing in the streets as beggars, as homeless people and the relocation camps built for them, are far removed from the main cities (see transcription 4).

On the reconciliation and reparation episodes which ST made prominent apparently because of Norman's indictment, Thoronka said FDP published the TRC report in its entirety (see transcription 1). The editor reiterated his support for the TRC, but accused it of failing to clearly depict the wide spread atrocities committed by the Kamajors (see transcription 2). Both men explained that the reparation schemes were not managed in a way that reflected the war victims' interests (see transcriptions 1 and 2). The editor further said financial mismanagement was what really crippled the implementation of the reparation schemes. Thoronka however stated that FDP played an advocacy role for Sierra Leone's war victims and amputees to be compensated for their irreparable loss and the colossal war damage done to them (see transcription 1).

On these same issues, Milton explained how Awoko gave prominence to the activities of the TRC and accused NaCSA of mismanaging the reparation funds (see transcription 7). The paper's editor explained that the TRC was absolutely necessary to foster post-conflict reconciliation and sustainable peace (see transcription 6). On reparation, the editor made this striking revelation:

Well, we tried as much as possible to advocate for that. We interviewed amputees, we interviewed the war wounded, and we carry their stories, and we made sure that we were part of their appeals. As always, they tried to speak through our news medium to the government about their position, about their physical and economic state, and we believe that in some ways, the articles that we published was able to attract international donors, who came in and actually tried to do something for them, for example, the Norwegians who started building houses for them, and that sort of thing. They got their initial idea about the whole thing from press reports. We believe that was the way I think to do at that time and that was our own policy (see transcription 6)

Thus, FDP's and Awoko's staff lauded the setting up of the SCSL as a positive step in ending impunity. Whereas, ST saw it as a mechanism through which Sierra Leone was further divided because the SCSL failed to provide the swift justice that the people wanted and the unfair treatment meted out to the CDF that liberated the country. The editors and staff of the papers (for different reasons analysed above) supported the reconciliation process, berated the implementation of the reparation schemes, and attributed the continual sufferings of amputees and war victims to the apparent failure of the reparation process.

To the questions whether it was because of ethno-regional considerations that the reportage was tilted in favour of the prosecution or the CDF, the responses were again mixed. FDP's war crimes correspondent, Thoronka, said though he fairly reported the trial without any prejudices, the paper's editor was sensationalising his stories against the CDF (see transcription 1). This is how the editor however responded to the questions:

'...Now, here was the SLPP government, they decided on a policy of making sure that the military becomes their own militia, the Kamajors. And this was a deliberate policy of the SLPP... So here you see a government that only respected one militia group. They

don't give food, they don't give ration, they don't give allowances, and they don't give foot wears to the other militia that sprouted right across the country, like the Tamaboros, the Donsos, the Gbethis... They just fixed their attention on just the tribalistic mentality that they had. Then I was the person that really rallied the nation to get footwears for the CDF... So therefore, I was the one that actually came out openly to support the CDF. But at the same time, I criticised the Kamajors because first of all, they were a tribalistic group. I mean, I criticised the Kamajors because they did not reflect a national identity. I criticised the Kamajors because they were hounding hundreds of people, who came from other parts of the country, including the North, especially the North, and especially Themnes. They were hounding them, killing them, in their hundreds and thousands, you understand. I also criticised them because they eat human flesh. They actually came out to show that they were cannibals. So therefore, if they have it in cannibalism, they call it 'Yamortor', which they even roast...' (See transcription 2)

Asked what 'Yamortor' is, the editor responded:

'Well, the eating of human beings. You understand? So if you see human beings being put in 'bandas' (wire meshes), I mean, they dried them in 'bandas' Just like how you dry fish, or meat or sheep... And they eat them. They pluck your heart out, and they can eat your heart and kidney raw. I mean, these things happened, but they never came out for us to reconcile in this country, and for the truth to prevail in this country. So, if you have a group that does all these things, and as a journalist who respects the truth, shouldn't I say them? So these were the things, which I made very clear, so it is not a question of being against the CDF, but it is against also crying down the evils of the CDF... (See transcription 2)

The editor denied skewing his coverage against the CDF on account of ethno-regional considerations, but emphasised the deep seated acrimony in the country between the Themnes of the North and the Mendes of the South-East. He accused the Mendes of having destroyed the country, adding that even Siaka Stevens, who purported to have been a Limba was a Mende and alleged that all the ex-leaders of Sierra Leone were Mendes; and that it is

only now that a true Northerner is ruling the country (see transcription 2). This was how he climaxed his lengthy response to the question:

‘...I was writing the truth. And if I was biased against them, then the Special Court could not have found them wanting... I’m sure I gave them (the Special Court) information about what the guys were doing...I mean, eating human beings, you know, and killing other people from other places, you know, and being tribalistic, believing in supernatural powers, you know...When they want to initiate you into the Kamajors, it is human flesh you eat. So therefore, all those who are Kamajors eat human flesh. And at the same time they even brought it to Freetown... Imagine, these guys were all the time up country, and then you unleash them on people. They were just pointing at people and saying these were rebels and they killed many people in Freetown. And then... Dr. Sama Banya was... saying that the Kamajors have supernatural powers to spot rebels to kill them. So a person like Dr. Sama Banya, you know, must be called to answer for that statement he made’ (See transcription 2).

Regarding the question why he thought Kabbah should have been indicted by the SCSL, the editor said he caused the deaths of thousands of people by dubbing those who did not go to Guinea rebels. He said that the twenty-four (24) soldiers, who were killed after Kabbah’s restoration, were not coupists, but were rather soldiers, who stayed in the country to protect lives and property during the interregnum (see transcription 2). However, this was how ST’s editor- Karim-Sei (see transcription 3, a view which Abu also shared-see transcription 4) responded to the questions why ST’s publications were positively tilted in favour of the CDF and why the paper’s staff thought the CDF leaders were national heroes and not war criminals or villains:

‘Well, you know, the CDF, these were very close to our hearts at the time because we thought these were the true liberators for this country after the soldiers, the Sierra Leone Army had failed us and we saw the role the CDF played during this war, particularly the liberation of the capital, Freetown, we know the role they played... We were not looking at it from the viewpoint of a news organ supporting a particular

institution because it had played a greater role, no. We were merely reporting what was happening. And what was particularly striking in this whole thing was the chief of defence staff, who was the head of the militia, the CDF, was also one of those charged. And so a lot of people had that kind of sympathy, you know that a man who had played so many roles to liberate this country is now a victim of the Special Court... Many people were asking "Why did you charge Hinga Norman to court? Why did you charge the other CDF, the other Kamajors? Why did you have to charge them after they had fought so hard for this country?"... We were not actually interested in what will be the outcome, but we were just asking why these people were charged to court after they have played a tremendous role in liberating this country. And so, some of our editorials were tilted towards those kinds of opinions people had about Hinga Norman and others... Well, personally, I will consider them as national heroes, you know. Because Hinga Norman in particular, the founder of the CDF, and a man who, you know, left the comfort of his home to go into the bush and stayed there with the Kamajors, you know, I mean very few Sierra Leoneans can make that kind of sacrifice. So, for me personally, he was a hero. And up to date, I consider him a hero (see transcription 3).

To the question whether the heroic statuses accorded to the CDF leaders were beclouded by their Southern and Eastern prejudices, both Karim-Sei and Mohammed Abu (Southerners) said the CDF issue was not ethno-regional, emphasising the national perspective of their reportage over ethno-regional prejudices (see transcriptions 3 and 5). But Theophilus Gbenda (an Easterner) was quite certain about how ethno-regional prejudices beclouded ST's reportage of the CDF trial:

... so maybe they {ST's journalists} decided to play the role, something like this... based on their ethnic alliance with Norman, because whilst I will not want to judge the guys in question by their names, but then when you go beyond their mere names, you will find out that they had every reason to be sympathetic to the cause of the Kamajors...The Kamajors were going to turn the war into a tribal war. So there was this strong tribal attachment and also this strong political attachment. So, anybody who was against the TejanKabbah administration was already considered a target by the Kamajors. I saw so

many instances wherein Northerners were targeted because of their origins. I saw people being targeted because of their names, and so you will find out that there was this high level of ethnicity in the whole thing. And therefore, I remain unsurprised that those articles were coming in... Ethno-political considerations did influence the reportage of the trials for obvious reasons... 'whilst some journalists or whilst some newspaper contributors were writing positive things about Norman, there were other newspapers that were writing critical things... I cannot dissociate from the same ethnic considerations, right. Because one of the papers that was very critical of the CDF was For Di People for example. They carried lots and lots of critical articles against Norman to an extent that people thought it were a press war around the whole proceedings... (See transcription 4).

Concerning the question whether it was because she thought the CDF fought for the restoration of the legitimate government that Awoko devoted more time in the coverage of the CDF trial, Milton said Awoko objectively reported the entire TJ process; and did not tilt any of its publications in favour of the CDF (see transcription 7). But the editor (Lewis) contravened Milton's position and said the paper's publications were tilted in favour of the CDF:

Yes, and particularly so because I have had very deep involvement with the CDF. The CDF base which was called Base Zero, I was one of only two people who went there and stayed there, and it was under special circumstances. One, I could not speak the language, which was Mende, which was being widely spoken there. Secondly, I did not belong to the traditional secret society which was the criteria for you to be a part of the CDF movement. Thirdly, I had not been initiated as a member of the Kamajor or the CDF group. So my being there was very unique, and I was one of only two people who were allowed that special privilege. And I felt I had to tell the story of the CDF. And because of that we were passionate of what they did and we wanted to report them in a positive light ... (see transcription 6).

Asked about their perceptions of the CDF leaders, regarding whether they are national heroes or war criminals, Milton said the CDF leaders were war criminals and not national heroes,

because they committed war crimes against Sierra Leoneans, though they were fighting for democracy (see transcription 7). On this point again, the editor contradicted Milton's position and stated that:

...it will be very difficult for me to see those people as war convicts, despite the fact that they were convicted and they are now serving their sentences. This is because... we were looking at the good versus the bad. And for most of the people of Sierra Leone including me, we saw the CDF as the good guys, because they stood up for us, they fought for us and they fought against the rebels, who were the marauding warriors. So it is difficult for me even today to accept that these people are war criminals because for me, they were doing a patriotic service, they stood up, they placed their lives on the line because of the country; it was not for their selfish reasons. Well they said atrocities were committed and therefore they'd been held responsible. In my mind, I still reject the notion of them being war criminals... For me, they should have taken the status of national heroes (see transcriptions 6).

To the question whether they thought their publications have had any impacts on elites' post-conflict opinions, the journalists appeared to have answered the question in the affirmative. FDP's editor said his paper had been an opinion leader and Sierra Leoneans had always been reading it to form opinions on national issues, but this trend has changed with the expansion of the country's media landscape with so many newspapers and radio stations in operations. He furthered that though he no longer manages FDP, he believes the paper is still impacting society in its own way (see transcription 2).

ST's editor explained that his paper impacted the public's post-conflict opinion because it was just reflecting what the public wanted. He said that he had no regrets for what his paper stood for. This view was buttressed by Gbenda and Abu (see transcriptions 4 & 5) who believed that their critical articles have always been influencing public opinions. They noted that so many people have interviewed them about their coverage of the SCSL, indicating that their views impacted post-conflict opinions. Lewis said Awoko expressed some opinions which he believed were taken in good stead and that people looked at his paper's stance, and recognised it was

objective and based on that they were able to make informed decisions about issues concerning the war (see transcription 6). Milton's response on this issue dovetailed with that of the editor (see transcription 7).

Finally, this is how FDP's Editor presented his present perception about the CDF and SCSL and their impacts in Sierra Leone's body-politic:

'Well, I mean they deserve it... we must put an end to impunity. I mean, this is a starting point, but we must be effective, we must be constant, we must make sure that at the end of the day, let our own people know exactly why people were indicted and for us to say that "Never again shall we go through what we went through..." (See transcription 2).

On this point, Karim-Sei reiterated ST's position that he thought the CDF leaders were unfairly treated and that they should not have subjected them to war crimes trials. He explained that the trial had huge political impacts, because it widened the political divide and whenever elections are held, the other side would use the CDF scenario to lampoon their opponents as a set of people, who betrayed their brothers, including their Internal Affairs Minister, the head of the Kamajors, who was imprisoned to die in a very horrible manner. He further said that economically, the trials and the court never benefited Sierra Leoneans and socially, most of those who were victimised are now suffering without compensations (see transcription 3)

Gbenda said the setting up of the SCSL was a wasteful venture and reiterated the issue of how the court administered selective justice by targeting the wrong people, emphasising that Kondowai and Fofana were not members of the upper echelons of the CDF (see transcription 4). Abu stated that the CDF leaders have been held to account for their actions, but questioned whether in the future another CDF would defend the rule of law and democracy. He furthered that regarding benefits, the SCSL's structures have been used by the Sierra Leone Law School and the Prisons Service (see transcriptions 5). To the question of the trial's impact on the country's body-politic, Abu made this striking revelation:

It affected the SLPP in the 2007 elections. Not that the APC loved the CDF, they didn't like the CDF. A group of people approached Charles Margai to be a defence counsel for

Hinga Norman; straight off he said “What are you going to pay me.” As far as Charles Margai was concerned Hinga Norman had been one of his political rivals. Hinga Norman had been one of the people that Margai called his antagonists. But when Hinga Norman was arrested, he made political gains out of it, the APC made political gains out of it. It was open, when the body of Hinga Norman was laid at the Victoria Park, Ernest Koroma (President) went there, he was then in opposition. What did he say to people? And there were a very large crowd there... “Look at this kind of party, somebody who fought for them, now he died in jail. Would you vote for such party again?” Was that not making political gains out of that? Not that he loved Chief Norman...’ (See transcription 5)

6.6 Ethnographic Surveys: Group Discussions

The findings from the framing and discourse analyses⁶⁹ and interviews⁷⁰ are geared towards answering the research question *how* selected media in Sierra Leone represented the CDF trial (i.e. research question 1). This appears to have reflected how the stimulus (media content) was presented by the papers for the appropriate responses from CSOs’ representatives across Sierra Leone.⁷¹ The extent to which CSOs’ representatives responded to the media’s contents (see research question 2) is the concern of this section. To do this, ethnographic surveys were conducted across Sierra Leone between December, 2011 and January, 2012. The CSOs’ representatives were invited to meet at four (4) distinct locations across the country (see 5. 6).

The discussions drew eleven (11) discussants each from the East and the North, and ten (10) each from the South and Western Area, who were asked to respond to a set of twelve (12) questions (see appendix iv), designed to test their awareness about the CDF trial, whether they considered the reportage balanced and fair, how relevant they thought the proceedings were to TJ and CSOs, whether they considered the trial relevant in terms of the moneys spent,

⁶⁹ See 6.3, 6.4 and 6.5.

⁷⁰ See 6.6.

⁷¹ See the stimulus-response analysis explicated in 3.2.1 and 4.1.

whether they thought the CDF leaders were national heroes or war criminals (villains) and so on. Hence, the responses were anonymised to preserve confidentiality.⁷²

The discussants in all four regions affirmed that their knowledge about the CDF trial was shaped by media coverage which most of them followed occasionally and some regularly. However, the level of awareness about the CDF trial was comparatively lower in the East than in the South, North and Western Area. This comparatively lower level of awareness in the East is attributed to a lack of effective sensitisation by the Outreach Office of the SCSL and the media. This confirms Courtenay Griffith's (see transcription 12) assertion of inadequate knowledge on the part of CSOs, regarding the court's functionality. This is strengthened by a study done by the BBCMA, ICTJ and SFCG. They interviewed 1,700 adults across Sierra Leone and concluded that 96% of the interviewees had heard of the SCSL, but only 4% knew of its proceedings⁷³. This raises the question about whether CSOs' representatives were adequately informed about issues regarding the presumption of innocence, witness protection, the right to fair hearing and the dynamics of the laws of war.

The above finding is however contravened by another study done jointly in 2012 by Sierra Leone's Institute for International Law (SLIIL), Manifesto 99, No Peace Without Justice, Liberia's NGOs Network Institute and COJA, which recorded 'high awareness of the SCSL, its purposes and work in both countries, with more than 90% of overall respondents having heard of the SCSL, around 65% of people indicating they were interested in the Court's work and nearly 50% having participated in outreach activities at some point over the 10 years of the Court's existence, including listening to radio programs'(Making Justice Count, op.cit: 1)

The perceptions of the discussants on whether the local media's reportage was fair and balanced, were mixed. All the discussants (11) from the East said that the local media's coverage was overtly biased against the CDF, but favoured the prosecution's case. Seventeen (17) from the South and Western Area also expressed the same concern. However, four (4) expressed a contrary view that the reportage was biased against the prosecution, but favoured

⁷² See appendices for transcriptions 8, 9, 10 and 11 to validate the findings from the group discussions in all four regions of Sierra Leone.

⁷³ <http://www.communicatingjustice.org/en/research/sierraleone>

the CDF's case. All the discussants (11) in the North stated that the coverage was balanced and fairly done.

That is, it was neither biased in favour of the prosecution nor against the defence. However, it was only five (5) discussants that could clearly articulate what they meant by 'fair and balanced reportage'. When compared with the international media's coverage (like the BBC, RFI, VOA etc.) of the trial, all forty-two (42) discussants in all three Provinces and the Western Area, praised the international media and criticised the local media for being partisan and unreliable (see 3.1.5). Analytically, the responses to the above question raised two significant issues of note.

The first is whether the numerous training programs which have been conducted to capacitate journalists since the end of the war and the beginning of the post-conflict justice, reconciliation and development processes in Sierra Leone, have had the desired consequences on the reportage of post-conflict issues (see 3.4). The second is whether the extent to which the press in Sierra Leone has been variously described as 'highly partisan and unreliable, unprofessional and incapable of upholding ethical standards' (see 3.4) can be justified in the light of empirical evidence.

Significantly, on the basis of the findings from actual and potential consumers of mediated contents in Sierra Leone (CSOs' representatives), it appears that one can empirically conclude (on the first issue) that despite the post-conflict initiatives and training programs meant to capacitate journalists to report professionally, they are yet to shrug off their overt prejudices in the coverage of post-conflict justice and governance issues in Sierra Leone.

Essentially, the description of Sierra Leone's media (the second issue) as 'highly partisan, unprofessional and incapable of upholding ethical standards' appeared to have been validated in the light of empirical evidence. These accusations are thus discernible in the above analysis, regarding the perceptions of CSOs about the local media's coverage of the CDF trial, relative to the international media's reportage of same. However, although the local media was criticised for being biased, the discussants across the country agreed that media coverage of the CDF trial changed their perceptions in so many ways. Thus, a discussant in Kenema noted that:

Had it not been for the media reporting of the trials, there would have been attempts to revenge on perceived suspects and that would have created an eye-for-eye situation. But the media tried to sensitize the people that vengeance should not be encouraged and that we should try to reconcile with our brothers and sisters to bring about peace and harmony in our society’.

This position was echoed by some other discussants in the three Provinces and the Western Area. Some noted that it was the media that got them to understand due processes and concepts like reconciliation, development and national cohesion (see transcriptions 8, 9, 10, 11). Others also believed that the media created the possibility for most Sierra Leoneans to understand the different dimensions of the war; noting that even perpetrators of offences were encouraged by the media to return to their villages after the war had ended in the spirit of reconciliation (ibid). This seems to have supported the arguments⁷⁴ that the media can play a role, in unison with CSOs, in fostering post-conflict justice and reconciliation and in building a stable democracy in Sierra Leone.⁷⁵ On the relevance of the CDF trial to CSOs, there was a consensus amongst the discussants across the country that they were able to understand the root causes of the war, which helped them in fostering post-conflict justice and reconciliation.

It strengthened their quest for human rights and developing their skills in advocating for the grass roots, by making their views known to the government and the international community. It educated them on the laws of war and how the international community resolved internal armed conflicts. It got them to serve as liaison between the powers that be and the general public. And, it enabled them to know the persons who bore the greatest responsibility for the war in Sierra Leone and how the issue of impunity was addressed (see transcriptions, 8, 9, 10 & 11). This also appears to have validated the crucial role of CSOs in the post-conflict justice context, as conceptually elucidated between 3.2 and 3.4.

To the question why the CDF leaders were dubbed national heroes or war criminals, clear evidence of ethno-regional prejudices are discernible in the responses of the discussants. In Sierra Leone (see 3.4 and 4.2) the Mendes from the South-East and the Themnes from the

⁷⁴ The conceptual issues raised in 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4

⁷⁵ See analysis for research question 5 in chapter eight (8) for a thorough empirical explication of the media’s role in post- conflict Sierra Leone.

North constitute 32% each of the country's population {In fact, the descendants of both ethnic groups (64%) far exceed the rest of the country's population}. Their languages, cultures and political affiliations are different. The SLPP has been largely Mende dominated and stronger in the South-East, where the CDF and its leaders were born.

The CDF leaders have always been held in high esteem in those parts of Sierra Leone, because of the role which they played in resisting the Northern dominated AFRC/RUF junta and restoring the SLPP. The APC which draws overwhelming majority of its supports from the North is principally dominated by the Themnes and Limbas, who have always been describing the CDF as a Mende dominated movement for which the Gbethis, Kapras and the Tamaboros (all from Northern Sierra Leone) and even the national army, were marginalised by the SLPP. Thus, these national ideological discourses reflected the responses of the discussants in expressing their opinions on whether the CDF leaders were national heroes or war criminals.

Essentially, all the eleven (11) discussants from the North dubbed the CDF leaders as war criminals or villains, who committed heinous crimes against the people of Sierra Leone for which they were accordingly punished by the SCSL according to the laws of war. They did not see the CDF as an organised armed group that fought for neither the liberation of Sierra Leone from the clutches of the junta, nor did they consider them to have fought for the rule of law and democracy. Conversely, the responses in the South-East significantly justified the role of the CDF in the conflict and strengthened the argument that the CDF sacrificed their lives in defence of constitutionality and democracy. Hence seventeen (17) of the twenty-one (21) discussants in the said regions stressed the heroic status of the CDF and affirmed that they were neither war criminals nor villains.

The views on the heroic status or criminality of the CDF in the Western Area (Freetown, the country's capital), which is considered cosmopolitan; and constitutes the Creoles (for whom it was originally bought from the Themnes); and peoples from the East, South and North were mixed. Despite this, a significant proportion of the discussants {six (6) of the ten (10)}, described the CDF leaders as national heroes, and stressed that they are neither war criminals nor villains. The perceptions of a majority of the discussants in the Western Area, regarding the CDF's role

in the conflict (see 6.2.3) resonated with the views expressed in the dissenting judgments of Justices Bankole-Thompson and Gelaga-King in both the Trial and Appeals' Chambers. Coincidentally, both Judges came from the same Western Area of Sierra Leone.

Essentially, as espoused in 3.2, notwithstanding the significant role which CSOs can play in building post-conflict democratic legitimacy in a post-conflict context, they can as well play a negative role in that direction. This negative role is clearly seen in the ethno-regional prejudices that characterised the CDF leaders as either national heroes or war criminals (villains) by CSOs' representatives across Sierra Leone, based on whether they are South-Eastern or Northern dominated. To the question whether the moneys spent in ending impunity should have been spent in tackling poverty, compensating war victims and fostering post-conflict reconciliation, reconstruction and development, a majority of the discussants {thirty-six (36)} across the country, answered the question in the negative. Their argument was that there cannot be sustainable peace and true reconciliation without justice; and that the trials conducted by the SCSL gave credence to, and simultaneously fostered, post-conflict justice and sustainable reconciliation. Only six (6) of the discussants answered the question in the affirmative; and stressed the argument that the moneys spent in the fight against impunity, should have been spent in tackling poverty, compensating war victims and fostering post-conflict reconciliation and development (see transcriptions, 8, 9, 10 &11).

This empirical analysis on the fight against impunity and the need to strengthen post-conflict reconciliation and development in Sierra Leone appeared to have dovetailed with both the prosecutorial and reconciliatory paradigms of TJ enunciated in 3.3. Essentially therefore, it can be empirically argued that CSOs' representatives in Sierra Leone were quite supportive of the judicial accountability as opposed to the reconciliatory approach to TJ. This finding corroborates the 2012 joint study undertaken by the aforementioned institutions and NGOs in Sierra Leone and Liberia, regarding the impact of the SCSL in ending impunity and upholding human rights and judicial accountability in Sierra Leone.

6. 7 Triangulating the Answers to Research Questions One and Two

The qualitative and quantitative dimensions of the content analysis;⁷⁶ and the findings from the discourse analysis⁷⁷ and interviews⁷⁸ with the journalists and editors, who covered the trials, clearly depict how the selected media represented the CDF trial (see research question 1). Again, it seems that evidence of ethno-regional prejudices are seen in the agenda- setting ability manifested in the news selection, framing and priming strategies⁷⁹ in the coverage of both FDP and ST, regarding the CDF trial. From the findings of the above methodological frameworks, it can empirically be argued that both papers (FDP and ST) strove to only a very limited extent to separate their views from the news, which they put out for consumption at the psychological and sociological levels.⁸⁰

Hence, it can be empirically argued that their reportage was mostly done in contravention of the idealised norms of objectivity and accuracy. However, from the same methodological frameworks, bolstered by Entman's⁸¹ criteria for evaluating media biases, though there is evidence of bias in Awoko's reportage, that bias appeared not to have been propelled by ethno-regional prejudices and it also appeared that the paper to a very large extent, strove to separate its views from the news which it published; and thus attempted to a greater degree to uphold the idealised norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy', as opposed to FDP and ST.

It can be further shown that FDP, ST and Awoko, were never neutral in their analysis and coverage of the CDF trial.⁸² They appeared to have taken their respective positions in the ideological and political debates of whether the CDF leaders were to be subjected to war crimes trials or not, whether they were war criminals or national heroes, whether the moneys spent in addressing impunity should have been spent in tackling poverty and post-conflict reconstruction, the overall relevance of the trial to CSOs and TJ etc.

⁷⁶ See 6.3 and 6. 4.

⁷⁷ See 6.5.

⁷⁸ See 6.6.

⁷⁹ See 3.2, 4.2, 5.2

⁸⁰ See 4.2 and 5.2.

⁸¹ See 5.2.

⁸² See 4.2.

And it can also be argued that it was their individual ideological and political considerations that determined how they processed the events and issues (news selection, framing and priming) that permeated their analysis and coverage of the CDF trial (agenda setting). This seems to have confirmed the critics' criticisms about the journalists' purported neutrality of news (See 4.2- Fowler, op.cit:1-4 Van Dijk, op.cit: 241, Mautner, op.cit: 38). The question that is pertinent at this stage is whether the frames (Entman, op.cit: 53) in the communication texts catalogued in 6. 2 above, necessarily influenced audiences' (CSOs' representatives) thinking. This has to be looked at from the standpoints of both the psychological and sociological levels (Scheufele op.cit:305-308; de Vreese op.cit: 52). Hence the need for the levels of analysis of the media's impacts on war crimes trials, CSOs' representatives and TJ in this triangulation.

At the psychological level, the test is to establish whether the exposure of CSOs' representatives to the frames and sub-frames in 6.2, has had any change in their perceptions and attitudes to the issues reported at the micro level. At the sociological level, the test is to determine whether the exposure to the said frames impacted political socialisation, decision making and collective actions at the macro level (Scheufele, *ibid*; de Vreese, *ibid*). Significantly, it can be empirically argued that at both the psychological and sociological levels, the frames in the communication texts in 6.2 influenced the thought processes of CSOs' representatives across Sierra Leone, as they confirmed that their knowledge about the CDF trial was shaped by media coverage which most of them followed occasionally and some regularly. This, therefore, indicates the extent to which CSOs' representatives became interested in the proceedings of the SCSL; and how the media was very much involved in reporting the Court's proceedings and functionality and sustaining controversial debates about the dynamics of TJ (see 3.3).

Regarding the issue of whether the local media's reportage was fair and balanced, the mixed views from the discussants across the country, strengthened the theoretical argument that the communication texts in the frames, either challenged or strengthened their pre-existing biases against the contents of different sections of the Sierra Leone media (see 4.2). This equally appears to have confirmed the post- modernism and structured interpretative models (see 4.2), emphasizing the position that media contents are polysemic and can thus be consumed by audiences in a way that reflect their pre-existing biases (in this case ethno-regional prejudices).

It seems that this finding is also bolstered by Iyengar's (see 5.1) audience fragmentation and selective exposure arguments that are still giving credence to the minimal consequences theory in this era of ICTs (see 4. 2). Essentially, it is clear that CSOs' representatives from the South-East were displeased with the media's contents (those of FDP, not those of ST) that demonised the CDF. And those of the North were very much satisfied in consuming such contents (those of FDP only). Hence, the justification for their assertion as to why they thought the media's coverage was either biased against the CDF (FDP) or the prosecution (ST). It appears that the media's impact here is restricted to the psychological level.

However, the impact at the sociological level seems to have been gauged on the issue of their overwhelming condemnation of the local media and their eventual commendation of the international media because of its seeming impartial, balanced and fair dispatches on the CDF trial. The media's impact at the sociological level also appears to have been gauged on the issue of the relevance of the CDF trial to CSOs, as there was a consensus amongst the discussants across the country that through media coverage they got to understand issues relating to the causes of the war, human rights, post-conflict justice and reconciliation, the need to end impunity etc. Regarding the issue of whether the CDF leaders were national heroes or war criminals, the media's impact appeared to be minimal as it either challenged or strengthened CSOs' representatives pre-existing biases (ethno-regional prejudices in this case). However, at the psychological level, CSOs' representatives from the North dubbed the CDF leaders as war criminals (villains) and not national heroes. And their colleagues in the South-East regarded them as national heroes and not war criminals or (villains).

Thus, FDP, which was edited and owned by Paul Kamara, a Northerner and Minister of Sports in the present Northern dominated APC regime, appeared to have demonstrated a Northern posture in its coverage. This seemed to have dovetailed with the news consumption pattern in the North, regarding the criminality of the operations of the CDF, which led to their convictions and eventual incarcerations for war crimes. ST, which was edited by Karim-Sei, whose staff writer and war crimes reporter, Mohammed Abu and Theophilus Gbenda, extensively covered the CDF trial, hailed from the South-East, where the CDF leaders are still being eulogised and dubbed national heroes, appeared to have demonstrated a South-Eastern posture in its

reportage. This seemed to have dovetailed with the news consumption pattern in the South-East, regarding the heroic status which is ascribed to the CDF.

This trend in the reportage of the CDF trial by both FDP and ST, gives credence to the postulation that the coverage was 'a continuation of war by other means'. This conclusion cannot be the case for Awoko, whose coverage was not, according to the framing and discourse analyses and semi-structured interviews, tainted with ethno-regional prejudices. Analytically, the North-South political divide, regarding the CDF's role in the conflict, the eventual death of Chief Norman and final convictions of Kondowai and Fofana by the Appeals Chambers, have continued to negatively impact Sierra Leone's post-conflict democratic legitimacy. This is accordingly analysed in the Kabbah-Norman friction sub-frame, regarding how the PMDC capitalised on the treatment meted out to Norman and the CDF to shoot itself into prominence in Sierra Leone's body-politic. This issue is also adequately analysed in the interviews with Karim-Sei and Mohammed Abu of ST.

Finally, regarding the issue of whether CSOs' representatives thought the moneys spent in ending impunity in Sierra Leone should have been spent in tackling poverty, compensating war victims and foster post-conflict reconciliation, reconstruction and development, the media's impact is gauged at both the psychological and sociological levels. At the sociological level, the overwhelming majority (36 of the 42) CSOs' representatives across Sierra Leone, thought the moneys were wisely expended. This is as well their individual view (reflecting the psychological level of analysis). However, the six (6) discussants who expressed a contrary view constitute a relatively negligible number that would invalidate the conclusion that the media did influence CSOs' representatives' perceptions on the need to end impunity in Sierra Leone. This conclusion is even bolstered by the fact that from the content (qualitative and quantitative) and discourse analyses and semi-structured interviews, FDP, ST and Awoko, supported the prosecution of war criminals in Sierra Leone, albeit with specific biases, regarding those who should or should not have been tried. And the above issues as reflected by the media and consumed by CSOs representatives in post-conflict Sierra Leone are germane to good governance and democratic accountability (see 1.2 & 1.3).

Chapter Seven

Data Presentation and Analysis of the Charles Taylor Trial

7.0 Introduction

The previous chapter analysed the media's coverage of the CDF trial. In this chapter, I shall apply the same methods to analyse the Charles Taylor trial, in the order in which the research questions are discussed. Thus, I shall first present the qualitative and quantitative dimensions of the content analysis, which I will attempt to connect to the discourse analysis and semi-structured interviews with the journalists and editors that covered the trial. This is geared towards answering the question how the selected media represented the Taylor trial (see research question 3). Also, I shall analyse the findings from the ethnographic surveys conducted across the country with CSOs' representatives, to answer the question how they perceived the coverage (see research question 4). I shall finally present the triangulated results of the findings from the respective methods, to come up with new empirical judgments about the media's impacts on elite's opinions in post-conflict Sierra Leone.

7.1 Background to the Content Analysis

Charles Taylor was the former National Patriotic Front of Liberia (NPFL) rebel leader, who became President between 1997 and 2006 (see Appendix III^{92, 179, 412}). Prior to his ascendancy to power, Taylor had established and nurtured an intimate relationship with the RUF, using Liberia as a springboard, and the NPFL as the RUF's main external auxiliary force (see Appendix III^{121, 475}). This explains why many Sierra Leoneans had perceived Taylor as 'the mastermind' of the crisis that engulfed their country; long before he was even indicted for war crimes (see Appendix III^{189, 191, 431}). Taylor was one of those charged with planning and instigating a joint criminal enterprise. The specific offences, for which he was charged, were acts of terrorism, murder, violence to life, rape, sexual slavery, outrage upon personal dignity, cruel treatments, other inhumane acts, the use of child soldiers, enslavement and pillage.⁸³ Taylor made his first appearance before the SCSL in Freetown on 3rd April, 2006 and entered a plea of not guilty to

⁸³The Prosecutor v Charles Ghankay Taylor, SCSL-03-01-T, Judgment, 18th May, 2012

all eleven (11) counts.⁸⁴ The prosecution formally completed its case on 30th January, 2009, after leading ninety-one (91) witnesses in evidence. With leave of the Trial Chamber II, the prosecution on 5th, 9th and 10th August, 2010, re-opened its case and called three additional witnesses, including Naomi Campbell, to establish Taylor's guilt (see Appendix III⁴⁹⁴). The defence team however started its case on 13th July, 2009, and completed it on 12th November, 2010, after eliciting evidence from twenty-one (21) witnesses, including Taylor, who spent eight (8) months testifying in his own defence.

The trial judgment was pronounced on 26th April, 2012. Taylor was convicted on all eleven (11) counts. He was sentenced to fifty (50) years in prison for planning and aiding and abetting the commission of war crimes in Sierra Leone. But the prosecution was unable to establish two (2) of its principal charges: that Taylor had effective command and control of the AFRC/RUF junta in Sierra Leone and therefore bore individual criminal responsibility for their crimes, or that he was part of a joint criminal enterprise.⁸⁵ After a defence appeal, the Appeals Chamber eventually made its final judgment in September 2013, upholding Taylor's conviction.

7.2 Content Analysis: The Qualitative Dimension

The papers' coverage of Taylor's indictment and trial has been divided into the pre-trial, trial and post-trial phases. A critical analysis of the contents of the papers reveals five frames, containing certain recurring themes and some controversial issues that were made very prominent in the coverage. The frames that characterized the reportage constitute the agenda, through which the papers' coverage of the trial can be referenced. Significantly, most of the factual issues embedded in the frames are collapsed into sub-frames; while simultaneously maintaining the connectivity between the main and sub frames. The five frames that emerged from the analysis are:

1. Charles Taylor's Role in the Conflict
2. The International Community's Role in Bringing Taylor to Justice
3. Sovereign Immunity and Extraterritoriality in the Face of War Crimes Jurisprudence

⁸⁴ Ibid.

⁸⁵ Appeals Chamber Judgment, 2013: 1-2.

4. Ending Impunity versus Post-conflict Reconciliation/ Poverty Alleviation and
5. International Conspiracy versus Regional Integration

Interestingly, it was as if the papers looked at most of the issues that factually informed the discourses in the frames, through lenses coloured by the ideals of patriotism and nationalism. Thus, there were similarities in the coverage, regarding virtually all the issues that characterized the discourses embedded in the main and sub-frames. However, the subtle nuances in the papers' analyses, point to how each paper prioritized the reportage of specific issues and the depth of the coverage. In this analysis, I shall examine the controversies in each of the above frames and then unpick and analyse the discourses in which the texts are clothed, to discern the subtleties and analogous positions of the papers, relative to the evidence adduced in the trial. Hence, I shall deal with the frames and the discourses in the order in which they have been presented above. For ease of referencing, I shall again adopt the same acronyms FDP and ST for 'For Di People' and 'Standard Times', respectively. And 'Awoko' shall be fully referenced in its own name.

7.2.1 Charles Taylor's Role in the Conflict

There were similarities in the papers' pre-trial and trial coverage on Taylor's role in the conflict. That role is analysed within the ambits of two sub-frames: Taylor's Pre-presidential Role and His Role as a President, Conspirator and Peace Mediator.

Taylor's Pre-presidential Role

The papers presented Taylor as a minister in the Doe administration, who allegedly made away with over a million U.S dollars from Liberia and settled in the United States, where he was eventually arrested on an extradition order, but escaped and started a very brutal rebellion in Liberia that toppled the Doe administration in 1989 (see Appendix III^{153, 411, 421}). The papers reflected the magnitude of the NPFL's destruction and how the spillover fuelled the RUF insurgency in Sierra Leone (see Appendix III^{91, 187, 429}). ST and Awoko attributed the spillover to the decision of President Momoh to allow ECOMOG to use Sierra Leone as a base for its

operations against the NPFL, preventing Taylor from taking over power in Liberia (ST, *ibid*, Awoko, *ibid*).

FDP (see Appendix III^{153, 187}) also established that Taylor had met Foday Sankoh in Libya and that Colonel Gaddafi provided both men with finances and arms to overthrow the dictatorial governments in Liberia and Sierra Leone and replace them with puppet regimes, that were to be influenced by Gaddafi's so-called third universal theory, based on his Green Book ideology, which was quite popular in Africa in the 1980s. What is, however, relevant to the analysis that appeared in the papers was Taylor's infamous interview with the BBC in March 1991, when he promised that Sierra Leone would one day 'taste the bitterness of war' (see Appendix III^{23, 183}).

This fact became part of the evidence, which both the Trial Chamber II and Appeals Chamber, considered in pronouncing Taylor's conviction and eventual sentence.⁸⁶ The papers had thus attached serious attention, salience and valence (see 4.1 and 5.1) to this fact, even before Taylor's indictment was unsealed. And on the basis of this fact, coupled with his support for the RUF, the papers presented Taylor as if he were already a convicted war criminal (see Appendix III^{17, 182-183, 275}). One pertinent issue that is central to this sub-frame, which is not reported by any of the papers, is that had the authorities in Ghana and Sierra Leone been vigilant enough, they would have prevented Taylor from causing the havoc, which he eventually wrecked in West Africa. This is because he was arrested in Ghana and then in Sierra Leone, for subversive activities in both countries in the 1980s for which he was only temporarily detained, but was not subjected to trials in either country. Had he been subjected to trial and convicted, his ambition of destabilizing Liberia and Sierra Leone could, arguably, have been forestalled.

The other important issue which did not appear in this sub-frame is that Taylor's initial involvement in the Sierra Leone conflict was virtually unconnected with his apparent insatiable thirst for conflict diamonds from Sierra Leone. He would not have had access to Sierra Leone's diamonds at that initial period, because the NPRC junta had ceded Sierra Leone's diamonds fields to mercenaries that had prevented the RUF from penetrating such areas (see 6.2.1). Theoretically, the absence of these two significant issues in the media's analysis of Taylor's pre-

⁸⁶ See the Trial and Appeals Chambers Judgments, 2012 and 2013.

presidential role in the conflict appears to validate the framing paradigm. Framing does not only encompass what is reported, but also extend to that which is unreported (see 4.1 and 5.1).

The papers however reflected that the RUF's first attacks in Kailahun district were spearheaded by NPFL rebels from Liberia (see Appendix III^{127, 189, 404}). They also implicated Libya, Burkina Faso and Ivory Coast in the conflict (Ibid). ST and FDP (Ibid) dubbed the said countries as rogue states in the international scene, from which Taylor was getting very meaningful supports to destabilise Liberia and Sierra Leone. Essentially, when CSOs and the media heightened the quest for democratization in Sierra Leone in 1994, the RUF continued its rebellion and chose not to participate in the elections of 1996 (see 3.2).

FDP (see Appendix III^{156-158, 161, 176}) reported that the RUF continued to receive assistance in manpower and arms from Taylor up to the beginning of the democratization process. It was about the same period that Taylor took power in Liberia, through democratic elections, conducted under the supervision of ECOWAS and the international community. Taylor won the elections by an overwhelming majority. And all the hitherto warring factions in the Liberian conflict accepted the results.

Taylor's Role as a President: Conspirator and/or Peace Mediator

The papers reflected how Taylor's ascendancy to power in Liberia strengthened his relationship with the AFRC/RUF junta and how the junta became a puppet regime that depended on Taylor for survival (see Appendix III^{23, 183, 422}). The papers emphasized different issues, incidental to Taylor's involvement in the conflict (on the basis of their news selection, framing, priming and agenda-setting orientations and inclinations- see 3.1, 4.1 and 5.1). FDP (see Appendix III^{176, 183, 189}) made salient the fact that Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and Liberia were among the very few countries that tacitly recognized the junta. The paper also catalogued how Taylor favoured the junta with fuel, arms and instruments of communications, in exchange for diamonds looted from Sierra Leone.

ST (see Appendix III^{291, 341}) however emphasized how Taylor aided the junta to violate the UN Security Council's sanctions. The paper also stated that the junta was getting its shipments of arms from Ukraine, through criminal transshipments to Ivory Coast, Burkina Faso and Liberia for

distribution in rebel held territories in Sierra Leone (see Appendix III^{314, 342}). Awoko (see Appendix III³⁶) focused on the frequent trips, which members of the junta, including Sam Bockarie and Paolo Bangura, made to Liberia and how Sam Bockarie transported diamonds to Taylor for export. Thus, the papers extensively analysed Taylor's role in the operations of the junta during its nine (9) months of misrule and after it was deposed by ECOMOG.

The papers also focused on Taylor's backing for the junta in attacking Kono, Makeni and Freetown on January 6, 1999 (see Appendix III^{37, 175, 304}). According to FDP (see Appendix III¹⁷⁶), the January 6 invasion of Freetown was the most deadly of attacks for the entire period for which the war subsisted. ST (see Appendix III³¹⁷) dubbed the said attack, 'operation no living thing'. Awoko (see Appendix III²⁶) recounted that though the attack was extremely egregious, it laid the foundation for the signing of the LPA. Thus, from the above analysis, similarities are spotted in the papers' pre-trial and trial coverage of how Taylor indulged in exploiting and smuggling Sierra Leone's diamonds in exchange for the deadly weapons that the junta used to destabilise Sierra Leone. It appears that the international media also paid serious attention in its pre-trial analysis, on how Taylor used the diamonds trade to fuel the conflict. The foreign press alluded to so many instances in which Taylor's dealings in blood diamonds became the principal source of Liberia's income and the main source of rebel finance for the junta in Sierra Leone.⁸⁷

Thus, the above issues as framed by the local and international media became the foundations of the testimonies that led to Taylor's conviction.⁸⁸ Those testimonies also became the bedrocks, upon which the Appeals Chamber upheld Taylor's fifty (50) years conviction.⁸⁹ The pieces of evidence (Ibid: 7-8) which connect Taylor to aiding, abetting and planning the commission of war crimes, for which he was indicted and convicted, supported the issues which the media selected (news selection), framed (framing) and made salient (agenda-setting) that became the foundation for Taylor's conviction.

⁸⁷ The Economist, Thursday, 5th July, 2007; The Patriotic Vanguard, Wednesday, 4th and Thursday, 5th July, 2007; Agence France-Presse, Thursday, 16th August, 2007; Reuters, Tuesday, 3rd July, 2007; Voice of America, Wednesday, 4th July, 2007.

⁸⁸ See Trial Chamber II Sentencing Judgment, 2012: 18-27.

⁸⁹ Summary of Appeals Chamber Judgment (Prosecutor v Charles Ghankay Taylor), 2013: 7-18.

The papers' coverage extended to even Crane's accusation that Taylor transformed Liberia into a sanctuary for war crimes indictees. They (see Appendix III^{37, 164, 293}) reported that Crane accused Taylor of sheltering Sam Bockarie, RUF's Field Commander and Johnny Paul Koroma, Chairman of the defunct junta. FDP (see Appendix III¹⁶²) and ST (see Appendix III²⁹¹) followed the issue and seemed to have done much more thematic framings⁹⁰ of how Crane proved that Taylor was indeed harbouring Sam Bockarie and Johnny Paul Koroma in Liberia, but Taylor denied the allegation. The papers called on Crane to force Taylor to hand over the fugitives. Their coverage further detailed how Taylor executed Sam Bockarie and his entire family, allegedly because Taylor felt he would be roped in should Bockarie face the SCSL (see Appendix III^{10, 165, 293}).

The papers reported on the allegation of the SCSL's Registry, that Taylor also murdered Johnny Paul Koroma in Liberia. Awoko (Ibid) did a thorough reflection (thematic reporting) on the allegation that Taylor also ended Koroma's life because he wanted to destroy any available evidence and eliminate every witness that was going to expose him. Both FDP (see Appendix III¹⁶⁹) and ST (see Appendix III²⁹⁷) were skeptical about the authenticity of the allegation from the SCSL Registry, that Taylor had killed Koroma. Thus, there are reports from the local media in Sierra Leone in general that Koroma is alive and he is still hiding somewhere around the Ivory Coast and Burkina Faso border. Similarities were seen in the coverage of how Taylor undermined the functionality of the ECOWAS Committee of Five.

As a member of the Committee, Taylor was a de jure and a de facto peace mediator. He took active part in the deliberations of the Committee, leading to its decisions to employ the use of force as the last resort to end the conflict in Sierra Leone. As espoused by both the Trial Chamber II and Appeals Chamber,⁹¹ Taylor's role as the President of Liberia in the Sierra Leone crisis, dovetailed with that of a conspirator (aider and abettor) bent on using disgruntled Sierra Leoneans to sustain his criminal enterprise in West Africa. This issue is also clearly reflected in the coverage.

⁹⁰See 5.2 on Iyengar's theorization on thematic and episodic framings.

⁹¹See Sentencing Judgment, op.cit: 38-39, Summary of Appeals Chamber Judgment, op.cit: 15-17.

Thus, before Taylor's indictment was unsealed, the papers had been vociferously calling for Taylor to be tried. They published a plethora of news and views, explicating how Taylor was criminally responsible for the heinous crimes committed against the people of Sierra Leone between 1991 and 2002 (see the numerous references in this frame). Awoko (see Appendix III⁶⁸) described Taylor as the one most responsible for the war crimes committed in Sierra Leone. Neither FDP (see Appendix III¹⁷²) nor ST (see Appendix III⁴⁸⁴) saw him as such, but both dubbed him a 'warlord', who should not go unpunished, as one of those (not the most) responsible for the war crimes committed in Sierra Leone. The trend of thoughts that are discernible in the coverage is that it could have been hardly denied that Taylor was not involved in the conflict in Sierra Leone and the papers had already dubbed him a 'war criminal' (see Appendix III^{123, 275, 422}) even before he was indicted.

In this regard, FDP affirmed that Taylor ill-advised the RUF not to disarm, to derail the peace process for his selfish interests (see Appendix III¹⁷²). ST (see Appendix III²⁹⁹) described his mediation, regarding the release of the RUF's captured peacekeepers, as a very hypocritical one, calculated to project his dubious influence over the RUF.

Against this backdrop, when Foday Sankoh (the erstwhile RUF leader), was arrested and detained for violating the LPA and killing innocent protesters, according to Awoko (see Appendix III³¹), Taylor (as a peace mediator) hastily recommended that Sankoh be taken to a third country to save the peace process. This was a recommendation that was stoutly opposed by the SLPP.⁹² And consonant with the framing paradigm, none of the papers could capture this robust response to Taylor's suspicious recommendation and how it was treated with a pinch of salt. The view that was widely held in Sierra Leone, regarding Taylor's role was that he was the mastermind of the conflict, even though the Trial Chamber II and Appeals Chamber did not find him guilty for that.

7.2.2 The International Community's Role in Bringing Taylor to Justice

This frame contains a plethora of different, but related issues that were reported with many similarities than differences. In fact, the differences in the coverage that can best be described

⁹²Kabbah, op.cit: 163.

as subtle are cognate with the depth to which the papers presented the issues for interpretation and internalization at both the psychological and sociological levels (see 5.1 for de Vreese's and Scheufele's theorizations of framing's effects on audiences). The papers called for the indictment and trial of Taylor. ST (see Appendix III^{294, 403}) and FDP (see Appendix III^{170, 173}) cautioned that the international community was not keen in getting Taylor to face justice.

Awoko (see Appendix III³⁷) was convinced that Taylor would one day be brought to justice. Neither ST (see Appendix III²⁹⁸⁻²⁹⁹) nor Awoko (see Appendix III¹⁵) did a clear thematic reporting on the operations of the Liberians United for Reconciliation and Democracy (LURD). Both papers seemed to have episodically reflected LURD's robust operations against the Taylor administration. FDP however (see Appendix III^{172, 180, 184-185}) did a detailed thematic analysis of LURD's activities. The paper linked the involvement of Guinea's President Lansana Conte to the insurgency, which appeared to have been a reprisal attack to Taylor's attempt to assassinate him. The paper also catalogued how most Liberians were determined to see the demise of Taylor's administration.

The paper further reflected (Ibid) how ECOWAS became convinced that security in Liberia had degenerated into a cataclysmic situation that threatened regional peace and stability. This seeming detailed reportage was done under the paper's international news column and it is clear that such reports were sourced through the contents of the foreign press (Ibid). The paper covered the ECOWAS extra-ordinary session called in Ghana on 4th June, 2003, when Taylor's indictment was unsealed. This happened when West African Heads of State had assembled in Ghana to peacefully resolve the Liberian conflict. They condemned the timeliness of the indictment and said it would jeopardize the peace process (see Appendix III^{21, 182, 338}). The papers opposed the view and called on Ghana to respect the legitimacy of the SCSL.

The Ghanaian authorities said they were not served with the warrant for Taylor's arrest and that they heard of his indictment from the BBC. They further said they would not respond to a request to arrest and extradite Taylor, a sitting Head of State, on media information alone (see Appendix III^{174, 177, 516}). The papers accused the Ghanaian Government of double standards and of undermining the SCSL (see Appendix III^{16, 179, 299}). The papers also published the press

releases of many CSOs in Sierra Leone, including SLAJ and CGG on Ghana's failure to arrest and extradite Taylor to face justice (see Appendix III^{16, 173, 300}). FDP (see Appendix III^{177, 196}) published articles debunking Ghana's claims that they were not served with the requisite processes to warrant Taylor's arrest. The paper quoted Crane at great length on the issue, saying that the Ghanaians were indeed served with the indictment and that the International Police Organisation (Interpol) was then alerted to do the arrest. Awoko (see Appendix III¹⁸⁻¹⁹) represented how Taylor's indictment caused unrest in Monrovia and how criminals took advantage of the situation to loot and cause mayhem. This happened when LURD was threatening to invade Monrovia.

ST (Tuesday 27th January, 2004:2, Monday 8th March, 2004) presented another argument, that had Taylor been arrested in Ghana, a political vacuum in the governance of Liberia would have exacerbated the rebellion. Taylor's controversial return to Liberia heightened LURD's rebellion and worsened the humanitarian crisis in Monrovia and beyond. LURD maintained that its forces would relent when Taylor relinquished power (see Appendix III^{172, 180}). Liberians then called for US intervention as the British did in Sierra Leone in 2000, but the Americans hitherto refused. The papers presented the international community's U-turn in the Liberian crisis (see Appendix III^{184, 308}). This finding dovetailed with Lang's analysis on the international media's functionality in upholding the ideals of war crimes jurisprudence (see 2.2). The international media became the mouthpiece, through which Taylor's role in the Sierra Leone crisis was made known to the World.

It also sequentially analysed LURD's operations in Liberia, Taylor's doubtful affiliation with al-Qaeda and the need to get him to face international criminal justice.⁹³ This does not presuppose that the international media was giving credence to Thompson's and Shaw's new journalistic paradigm (see 4.1) in its entirety. Thus, there is evidence that the issues and events that characterized the operations of the SCSL had been underreported by the international media (Lang, op.cit: 2). Its news selection policy, which had since been arguably influenced by

⁹³Voice of America, Tuesday, 16th January, 2007, Daily Observer, Friday, 9th March, 2007, MSNBC.Com, 17th July, 2005, Jurist Legal News and Research, 3rd January, 2006 and 20th November, 2006, International Herald Tribune, 18th July, 2007, CNN 10th July, 2003, New York Times, 8th July, 2003 etc.

the Galtung and Ruge's 'cultural determinism' and 'geographical proximity' model (see 4.1), would not have reflected its coverage of what was remotely happening in West Africa. As Lang (op.cit: 1) established, of the four (4) trials conducted by the SCSL, it was only the Taylor trial that attracted much international coverage. This can be attributed to the involvement of the US and the European Union Parliament to get Taylor to justice. Their campaign would not have been successful without the international media. Even Crane, in line with the 'cultural determinism' and 'geographical proximity' model, stated that the international community was not keen in knowing what was unfolding in West Africa. So he had to use the international media to bring West Africa to the attention of the World (Lang, op.cit: 3).

However, though the SCSL conducted four (4) trials, it was Taylor's trial that came under the spotlight of the international community. This appears to have confirmed Galtung and Ruge's 'cultural determinism' and 'geographical proximity' model. While David Crane's (see Appendix III¹⁷⁰) call on the international media to lead the campaign to get Taylor to face justice, can arguably be interpreted as one that validated Thompson's and Shaw's responsibility to report every event or issue that affects the human race, irrespective of where it is unfolding (see 4.1).

Essentially, the involvement of the international community, through the international media, in the quest to get Taylor to face justice, also impacted the local media's reportage. FDP (see Appendix III²⁰⁹) reflected how the Americans pressured Taylor to resign as President of Liberia and how Taylor demanded the deployment of US peacekeepers in the country before he could resign. The paper (see Appendix III²¹⁰) also represented how the Americans passed a resolution in their House of Representatives, calling for Taylor's resignation and extradition to SCSL. ST (see Appendix III⁴²³⁻⁴²⁴) also reflected how the EU Parliament called for Taylor's resignation and extradition to the SCSL.

The papers covered the events that culminated in Taylor's resignation, his consent to seek political asylum in Calaba (Nigeria), Nigeria's determination to ensure his safety, and how Taylor accused the Americans (during the ceremony marking his resignation on 11th August, 2003) as the people behind LURD's insurgency, because they wanted to exploit Liberia's natural resources (see Appendix III^{226, 398}). However, Awoko (see Appendix III⁹³⁻⁹⁴) did a detailed analysis

of Taylor's resignation, describing him as the first elected African Head of State that voluntarily handed over power to enable peace to reign in a country (Liberia) that was embroiled in rebellion. FDP (see Appendix III²⁵³) described Taylor as a dangerous fugitive. The paper also captured the issuance of Interpol 'Red Notice' (the international arrest warrant) for Taylor on 4th December, 2003 in few of its December, 2003 editions.

ST's (see Appendix III⁴⁰⁰) analysis on this issue was not as detailed as FDP, but the paper dubbed Taylor as the first sitting President indicted for war crimes. There were similarities in the coverage of how the papers called on the international community to exert pressure on Nigeria to hand over Taylor to the SCSL. The papers also reflected CSOs call to bring Taylor to justice and Nigeria's unwillingness to arrest and extradite Taylor. Thus, he was eventually arrested when he breached a fundamental term upon which his asylum was predicated—namely, interfering in Liberian politics. The papers further captured Nigeria's stance that she would only hand over Taylor to the newly constitutionally elected Government of Liberia if it so demanded (see Appendix III^{226, 398}).

Awoko (see Appendix III²⁶) alleged that whilst in Nigeria, Taylor was the main sponsor of about twenty (20) political parties that contested the elections that brought Ellen Johnson-Sirleaf to power. Finally, the papers (see Appendix III^{76, 78, 241, 243, 405, 407}) covered the arrest of Taylor in Nigeria, his transfer to Liberia and eventual extradition to the SCSL, where he made his first appearance on 3rd April, 2006. Here, he challenged the Court's jurisdiction to try him, but was convinced by Justice Lussick to take his plea of guilty or not guilty should he want to contest anything during the trial. It was only ST (see Appendix III⁴¹⁹) that clearly recounted Taylor's plea as follows:

'Most definitely, I did not and could not have committed these crimes against a sister Republic Sierra Leone. I think this is a plan to keep the people of Sierra Leone and Liberia divided'.

7.2.3 Sovereign Immunity and Extraterritoriality in the Face of War Crimes Jurisprudence

Prior to Taylor's arrest and eventual extradition to the SCSL, some quintessential legal issues evolved at the pre-trial stage, which I have deliberately not analysed, within the frameworks of any of the above sub-frames, that form the basis of the frames, depicting either Taylor's role in

the conflict in Sierra Leone or the international community's role in bringing Taylor to justice. The said legal issues were given prominence in the papers analysis with very subtle nuances. Even though it was seen that the papers lacked the requisite legal expertise in reporting international judicial proceedings, they devoted much time and space in the coverage of technical legal issues. The first issue revolved around Taylor's sealed indictment, signed by Crane on 3rd March, 2003 and confirmed by the Trial Chamber II on 7th March, 2003. This was about the same time that the indictments for the AFRC, RUF and CDF leaders were unsealed.

Against this backdrop, the papers hurriedly called for the indictment of both Presidents Kabbah (Sierra Leone) and Taylor (Liberia), as two other high profiled persons, who should be indicted as most responsible for the war crimes committed in Sierra Leone (see 6.2.2 and 7.2.2). Even though the papers continued to press for the indictment of President Kabbah in particular, their initial call for Taylor to face justice (see Appendix III^{188, 201, 211}), sparked a serious debate in the Liberian Senate and a Senator (Thomas Nimley, then Chairman of the Senate Standing Committee), threatened that should Taylor be indicted, a serious instability would hit West Africa (regional war) because the so-called SCSL is a political court that is calculated to breed political unrest in the sub-region (see Appendix III^{120, 264}). However, none of the papers analysed the legal implications of indicting sitting Heads of State in the face of war crimes jurisprudence, neither did they explicate the issue of how their arrest warrants, if indicted, could be executed; nor did they analyse the legal implications of the regional instability comment that was made in the Liberian Senate, regarding Taylor's indictment.

The second issue, which is central to all the other issues that factually informed this frame, was underpinned by Taylor's challenge that his indictment was a nullity on the grounds of sovereign immunity and extraterritoriality in international law (see Appendix III¹⁹¹). According to the papers (see Appendix III^{227, 399, 419}), Terrence Terry, a renowned Sierra Leonean Barrister, was Taylor's lawyer, who filed a motion to the Court's Appeals Chamber, challenging the Court's jurisdiction on grounds of sovereign immunity and extraterritoriality {relying on the Judgment of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) in the case of Democratic Republic of Congo v Belgium- Yerodia Case}, to subject Taylor, a sitting Head of State, to a war crimes court that was not inaugurated, pursuant to a UN Chapter VII mandate.

The immediate post-October, 2003 editions of all the papers, contained detailed analysis of Terry's applications and submissions before the Appeals Chamber, which ST in particular took out of context, but which Awoko and FDP, did not articulate with any legal exactitude (ibid). Terry relied on the old notion of sovereign immunity, which precludes a sitting Head of State, from standing any civil or criminal trial in respect of anything done during his incumbency. Terry argued that this territorial sovereign immunity of sitting Heads of State is also extraterritorially recognized in contemporary international law. This argument however mesmerized ST (see Appendix III^{297, 315}) to publish articles, commending Terry as a Barrister, determined to expose the deficiencies of the SCSL.

The paper (see Appendix III³²⁹) opined that the Appeals Chamber would rule in favour of Terry because, Crane did not do his assignment well. Awoko (see Appendix III³⁴), on this issue, stated that Terry's argument might be the reasons why Ghana had failed to arrest Taylor and why Nigeria was hitherto reluctant to extradite him. FDP (see Appendix III¹⁹⁷) however capitalized on the UN Chapter VII mandate, which the SCSL lacked. These arguments indicated how the papers appeared to have misrepresented this legal issue. The Appeals Chamber on 31st May, 2004 however dismissed Terry's application as one that completely lacked any merits in war crimes jurisprudence. Applying the Entman's test (see 5.1); biases are apparently discernible in the coverage against the prosecution on this issue.

First, none of the papers presented the prosecution's response to Terry's application for audiences' to form their opinions (at the psychological and sociological levels) on the substantive application and the response thereto (see 5.1). Second, the papers took positions on the issue even before the Appeals Chamber made its ruling, with ST (see Appendix III³²⁹) concluding that Terry was legally right. Nevertheless, the bias which the papers demonstrated against the prosecution on this issue cannot be interpreted as a show of support for Taylor, but as a frustration over the SCSL's seemingly unrewarded efforts in getting Taylor to face justice. The prosecution's response, to Terry's application, which ought to have been reported, but inadvertently or otherwise left out of the papers' framing strategy, was that the Statute⁹⁴ that

⁹⁴See Article 6 (2).

established the Court makes it clear that the status of any person cannot exonerate him/her from prosecution for war crimes.

The prosecution relied on Article 7 of the Nuremberg Charter, Article 27(2) of the ICC's Rome Statute and the jurisprudence of the ICTY and ICTR in justification of its arguments, pursuant to Article 6 (2) of the SCSL's statute that, Taylor cannot evade international criminal justice on grounds of sovereign immunity and extraterritoriality. This was the argument that held sway as seen in the Appeals Chamber ruling, demonstrating the determination of the international community to uphold the ideals of war crimes jurisprudence (see 2.2). Thus, human history is replete with instances in which political leaders devastated independent sovereign states and perpetrated the most egregious crimes with impunity. As established in 1.1 and 2.2, war crimes jurisprudence was thus resuscitated in the 1990s to defeat the beast of impunity.

Essentially, it would have been in contravention of the quest to end impunity, had the Appeals Chamber upheld Terry's argument, which was indeed a manifestation of an attempt to extricate Taylor from judicial prosecution and thus give credence to impunity in international law. Interestingly, the Appeals Chamber's ruling heightened CSOs' call to bring Taylor to justice and the papers published a host of news and views in support of that, re-echoing the legal principle that sitting Heads of State are no longer immune from prosecution under international criminal law for war crimes (see Appendix III^{87-88, 252, 428}). The other issue that is cognate with this frame, which the papers captured, is the prosecution's application for an amendment to Taylor's seventeen (17) counts indictment (ibid). The papers also covered the Trial Chamber II's ruling approving the amendment that reduced Taylor's charges from 17 to the 11 counts for which he was eventually convicted.

7.2.4 Ending Impunity versus Post-conflict Reconciliation/ Poverty Alleviation

The papers re-echoed the argument that it is through the prosecutorial model that war criminals can be held to judicially account for their violations. When Taylor was arraigned before the Trial Chamber II and took his plea of not guilty in Freetown, the local and international media's coverage of this single event was seriously rife. The media dubbed the event a victory for war crimes jurisprudence in an era, when even Heads of State, are held to

account for their violations (see 7.2.3). The first issue, which suddenly became prominent in the papers trial analysis, was the venue for the Charles Taylor trial.

FDP and ST (see Appendix III^{241-242, 405-406}) are reputed as being the trail blazers of this issue. The papers ran a syndicated commentary, ('A Plea to the Government and the Special Court... Please Take Charles Taylor Somewhere Else!'), thanking the UN and international community for pioneering and overseeing the extradition of Taylor to face the SCSL, but cautioned that he should be taken to The Hague for the security of Sierra Leone and the stability of West Africa. The commentary was predicated on Article 9 of the court's statute. This issue sparked a serious debate in so many quarters and the papers published critical articles, analyzing the pros and cons of trying Taylor in The Hague or in Freetown (see Appendix III^{113, 239, 245, 410, 416}). But the argument that held sway was that which emphasized the need for the trial to be held in Freetown (see Appendix III^{260, 410, 424}) as even the Sierra Leone Parliament debated and adopted a resolution on the issue, pursuant to a private member motion, filed by Honourable Francis B. S. Tengbeh (see Appendix III⁴¹⁰).

Hand-in-hand with the debate that was sparked and sustained by the media, regarding the venue for the Taylor trial, the then President of the SCSL, Justice Raga Fernando wrote to the UN Security Council, requesting it to come out with a resolution, demanding the transfer of the Taylor trial to the premises of the ICC in The Hague (see Appendix III⁴⁵⁹). The Security Council thus inaugurated its Resolution 1688 on 16th June, 2006, confirming the need to transfer the Taylor trial to The Hague because 'his presence in the sub-region was an impediment to stability and a threat to the peace'.⁹⁵ The Sierra Leone Court Monitoring Program (SLCMP) responded to the said Resolution and circulated a plethora of articles to most of the newspapers in Sierra Leone (including the selected media), condemning the transfer of the Taylor trial to The Hague.

SLCMG⁹⁶ argued that by transferring the trial to The Hague, SCSL had denied the people of Sierra Leone access to the trial, indicating that the lack of access to the trial did not only hinder

⁹⁵See Resolution 1688.

⁹⁶Tuesday, 3rd July, 2007.

the healing process of the Sierra Leonean people, but also undermined the anticipated impact of the trial on the local justice system; since the lack of access to justice was one of the underlying causes of the war. SLCMG furthered that the lack of seriousness of the SCSL in terms of its commitment to accessibility eroded the legitimacy of the Court in the eyes of the people of Sierra Leone. These arguments thus became the basis for the plethora of views, expressed in the numerous articles published by the papers, until the period when Taylor was finally taken to The Hague (see Appendix III^{430, 432}).

A number of CSOs and NGOs, including the ICTJ and CGG, put out press releases in the papers, opposing the transfer of the trial to The Hague. The question that climaxed their protestations was: 'What was the essence of a justice that the victims and survivors did not feel?' (see Appendix III⁴²⁴) They raised the issues of additional costs and complications, including the secondary presence of the SCSL in The Hague, the constant transportation of staff, the need to get the prosecution and defence teams and the hundreds of witnesses to The Hague and how effective could the outreach program be, when Sierra Leone's access to internet connectivity, electricity etc. was very poor, taking into consideration the fact that Resolution 1688 required that the trial be made accessible to West Africa through video- links (SLCMP, op.cit, ibid).

The argument was also raised that the trial in The Hague could dilute some of the Court's biggest strengths: its hybrid nature that blended international legal standards with local participation in the trial and would make it easier for those that did not support the trial to distance themselves from its outcomes (see Appendix III⁴¹⁰). The argument was that whilst broader political considerations such as regional stability should have been taken into account, they should have been weighed against the long-term benefits of holding in-country trial and the opposition of Charles Taylor, voiced by CSOs in Sierra Leone and Liberia (ibid). This was how ST (see Appendix III⁴²⁴) aptly reflected some of these concerns:

There is currently little or no provision in the budget for outreach purposes, including getting civil society members from Sierra Leone and Liberia to witness the trial. How then do you expect this trial to impact the sub-regional peace and security everybody is craving for?

It appears that the concern about accessibility to the trial raised by the media, CSOs and NGOs became conspicuous when the prosecution opened its case on 4th June, 2006. The SLCMG again put out a press release published in many newspapers, condemning the SCSL for denying Sierra Leoneans and Liberians access to the trial. The release which also appeared in all three papers (see Appendix III^{114, 261, 462}) reads:

Indeed, the proceedings took a surprising turn- one that the people of Sierra Leone were forced to miss- when Taylor arrived unexpectedly to plead not guilty to the recently amended indictment. Nor is this the first time the Sierra Leonean people have been denied access to observe the judicial process at work: first, the case was transferred out of Sierra Leone to The Hague; and then on 4 June, the morning of the prosecutor's opening statements, the broadcast at the Special Court repeatedly sputtered and halted, with the Court eventually resorting to broadcasting coverage from news channel CNN; finally on 25 June, when the trial was scheduled to resume, the broadcast again failed. Sierra Leoneans have thus been denied any and all access to the trial of the man accused of sponsoring a war that killed thousands of their countrymen and victimized millions more.

The papers also captured the positive steps that were subsequently made to address the problem of accessibility to the trial in The Hague. The first issue regarding accessibility, which they extensively covered was the BBCMA's project that took journalists from Sierra Leone and Liberia to The Hague to do a fair and accurate reporting of the trial for the people of Sierra Leone and Liberia. This project aided accessibility to the trial as CSOs' representatives across the country, were able to follow the proceedings, at The Hague as relayed back home (see Appendix III^{267, 480}). In fact, even some newspapers in Sierra Leone, including the selected media, benefited from that project as they published many syndicated articles, which had hitherto been reported by journalists, who were recruited under the said project (see Appendix III^{132-133, 272-273, 491-492}).

The other issue regarding accessibility which also featured in the papers is the effort which was eventually made by the SCSL to get representatives from CSOs across Sierra Leone and Liberia

to The Hague to witness the proceedings and to report back home to their entire membership. These strategies essentially helped in sustaining the interests of the media, CSOs and NGOs throughout the trial and up to when Taylor's appeal was filed, heard and quashed by the Appeals' Chamber. The next issue that also appeared prominent in the papers was the concern for a fair trial for Taylor. Here again, much more convergences were conspicuous in the coverage.

The papers raised the concerns in some quarters in Liberia that Taylor was not going to get a fair Trial because the international community, through the international media, had influenced people's perceptions that Taylor was already guilty of fuelling war crimes in Sierra Leone, even before his trial commenced (see Appendix III^{124, 129, 136, 271, 487, 488}). Again, it appears that the agenda-setting, news selection, framing and priming strategies, discernible in the papers' trial analysis, presented Taylor as a 'war *criminal*' before he was convicted (see 7.5). Significantly, the papers also captured the willingness, which the British had demonstrated to get Taylor to serve his sentence in the UK, should he be convicted, but there was no indication as to where should he go if acquitted and discharged (see Appendix III^{429, 439}).

According to ST and FDP (see Appendix III^{270, 486}) on the issue of both the international and local media's stereotypical presentation of Taylor as a 'warlord' and 'war *criminal*' at the height of his Trial in The Hague, this is what his lead counsel, Courtenay Griffiths had to say:

I think the biggest challenge for the defence is the fact that public opinion has been led to believe over the years that Charles Taylor is guilty. The stock reaction I get from people when I tell them that I am defending Charles Taylor is 'how can you defend that monster?' Because there is this widely held view that he is guilty, this has been created by the Western media over the years. And that I think this is our biggest problem. You wonder whether anyone, including the prosecution and in fact also the Judges, can approach the case objectively with an independent frame of mind, basing their Judgment solely on the evidence, as opposed to whatever prejudiced they might be harbouring about Mr.. Taylor, from the various newspapers and media articles they might have read... Everyone irrespective of their position has been exposed to the

prejudice, which pervades this whole trial. Everyone has been exposed to it, so it is difficult to see what measures could be put in place to try and eradicate or erase those prior feelings.

Indeed, as Griffiths asserted, issues that arose from the evidence that implicated Taylor were given salience and cleverly framed and primed, as seen in the news contents, stock phrases, nuances, quotes, photo captions etc. (see Entman's, McQuail's and Tankard's theorisations on frames identification in 5.1) of the papers' publications that demonised Taylor (see 7.5). The first issue that was given prominence in the trial analysis (which had also been made salient in the pre-trial coverage) was that Taylor was the mastermind of the conflict, who supported AFRC/RUF junta with arms and ammunition in exchange for blood diamonds from Sierra Leone (see 7.2.1).

He was also presented as a '*murderer*' (see 7.5) and a '*devil*' (7.5), who would stop at nothing to satisfy his unmitigated selfishness and rapacity. Thus, Moses Blah (his comrade in arms and successor to the Presidential throne) testified that he murdered Sam Bockarie and his family and hundreds more in Liberia (see Appendix III^{476, 478}). The same Blah also testified that Taylor had rebels, who were '*cannibals*' (see Appendix III^{477-478, 485-486}). Other witnesses testified that he robbed so many children off their childhood by making them ferocious child combatants (Ibid).⁹⁷ It also came out in the evidence that his intention was to destabilize West Africa by fanning the flames of rebellion (Ibid).⁹⁸ The papers thus gave much prominence to the above issues throughout their trial analysis.

Further, the papers, contained unsubstantiated allegations that Taylor had ill-gotten wealth, in millions of US dollars kept in banks overseas that should be confiscated by the Court and used for the reparation of war victims in Sierra Leone. However, reparation is a distinct post-conflict model, different from judicial accountability (see 3.1 and 3.3). And the international community provided funds for the successful implementation of the country's reparation schemes, though the papers had reservations about how the funds were managed (see 6.2.5). So why should the

⁹⁷ ST and Awoko

⁹⁸ ST and Awoko.

papers again suggest that Taylor's ill-gotten wealth should be used to fund the reparation programs, when his trial was still in progress? Was it because they had presented him as a '*war criminal*' before his trial started?

Even though the papers later reported issues that appeared to have bolstered Taylor's case, such issues were not given the prominence that would have facilitated healthy and critical debates in the public sphere (see 3. 2). The issues that strengthened Taylor's case were either intermittently alluded to in the articles or dealt with remotely in the tail end of most of their publications. ST did raise the issue of the presumption of innocence and Taylor's right to a fair trial, pursuant to Article 17 of the Statute in few of its publications that appeared to be anti-Taylor (see 5.1 for Entman's test of '*biased coverage*'). FDP and Awoko (see Appendix III^{125, 266}) raised the issues of the cost, time and resources needed for the trial, considering the funds expended to take witnesses to The Hague to testify and the expenses of getting the prosecution and defence teams to complete their case.

But ST (see Appendix III⁴⁷⁴) reported that over 180 million US dollars was needed for the Taylor defence team to do its work and asked whether such staggering sum should not have been spent on the war reparation schemes for war victims and poverty alleviation. This seemed to have further strengthened the biased posture of the papers against Taylor. They represented that the staggering sum expended for Taylor's defence, should have been spent on post-conflict reconciliation and poverty alleviation. Thus, the papers neglected to discuss the basic legal fact that '*hear the other side*' is a fundamental principle of natural justice (Craig, 2001: 259). Why should the papers make the concern about cost very salient, only when it came to the presentation of the defence's case? Why did they not also make salient, issues relating to the cost which the prosecution needed to complete their case?

Rather, ironically, ST emphasized the position that '*justice*' and '*peace*' cannot be measured in monetary terms, only when the prosecution re-opened its case, to elicit additional evidence from four witnesses, including Naomi Campbell (see Appendix III^{487-488, 493}). This representation begs the question whether the jurisprudential concept of justice should only be looked at through lenses coloured by the prosecution's case. FDP (see Appendix III²⁴⁵) however argued

that though the people needed post-conflict justice, there was also the need for reparation for the war affected victims. Issues relating to the Court's credibility, impartiality and independence, which are intertwined with the presumption of innocence and the need for a fair trial, were also not fairly raised and addressed by either of the papers.

This is simply because neither of the papers could fairly articulate this point beyond what Courtney Griffiths had said to the international media about the Court. Griffiths had also raised concerns about how the financiers of the Court would want to see Taylor behind bars forever, confirming '*the urge to convict*' episode, a fundamental flaw in war crimes jurisprudence (see 3.3). Arguably, the above issues should have been thoroughly articulated by the papers to promote a healthy debate in the public sphere (see 3.2) because there were CSOs and NGOs in Sierra Leone and Liberia that spent some time, debating the impossibility of giving Taylor a fair trial. Even the issues of '*coaching*' and '*protection of witnesses*' (see 3.3) which Griffiths and Taylor openly opposed were not well articulated by the papers.

Taylor condemned all the prosecution's 91 witnesses, saying that they went to The Hague to falsely implicate him (see Appendix III^{126-127, 439, 481, 483}). Griffiths stated that the prosecution's case was so weak that no reasonable tribunal of fact, that dispensed justice without fear or favour, affection or ill-will, would give credence to the testimonies of witnesses, who were coached and paid to testify against Taylor (see Appendix III²⁷⁶). Griffiths mentioned the case of Moses Blah, who became an insider witness for the prosecution. Blah first travelled to Ghana for medical attention (and the Court paid up to 5000 US dollars for that) before he was taken to The Hague at the expense of the Court to implicate Taylor.⁹⁹

Given this scenario, how independent was the Court from the Prosecution's Office and Court's Financiers? This question strikes a chord with the manner in which Crane had used the media to bring the World's attention to the operations of the SCSL. Before the defence commenced its case, Griffiths filed a motion on a submission of no case to answer on 4th May, 2009, discrediting the prosecution's case and pointing to instances in which witnesses were allegedly bribed to testify against Taylor, but the Trial Chamber II dismissed the application. The defence

⁹⁹Friday, 3rd July, 2009:1.

team led twenty-one (21) witnesses in evidence to debunk the prosecution's case. However, neither the motion on a submission of no case to answer nor Taylor's case was given a serious media attention.

Thus, it was only Taylor's testimony in his own defence that attracted some local media's coverage (see 4.1 for Allan Bell's attribution theorisation on the concept of newsworthiness). Essentially, the above scenarios thus needed some serious media attention and analyses, but they were not critically analysed to enable CSOs and NGOs, to thoughtfully debate the issue in the public sphere (see 3.2). The reason why such scenarios were not made *salient* by any of the papers can be inferred that the papers were not keen to present Taylor's case, because they wanted to see him convicted. Interestingly, when the prosecution came up with an application, after it had closed its case, for additional four (4) witnesses to be allowed to testify against Taylor, the papers lent serious credence to the application, affirming the need for the Court to allow the application and thus extensively covered their testimonies (see Appendix III^{137, 272-273, 494}).

The Court's Rules of Evidence and Procedure did not expressly address issues relating to the test for the admissibility of fresh evidence,¹⁰⁰ but other international tribunals have ordered that prosecutions can re-open their case in circumstances, where they are now faced with fresh pieces of evidence that were not available, when they initially presented their case, provided the fresh evidence's probative value outweighs its prejudicial effects (see Appendix III⁴⁹⁴). Although the defence opposed the application, the Trial Chamber II upheld it and allowed Naomi Campbell (the supermodel), Carole White (Naomi's agent) and Mia Farrow (a Hollywood actress), to testify about an event that took place in South Africa, during which Taylor allegedly gave some 'dirty looking pieces of stones' (rough and uncut diamonds) to Naomi, through some unknown persons (see Appendix III^{274-275, 490}).

The celebrities' testimonies were analysed to present Taylor as the person who sent the uncut diamonds to Naomi, who never established whether the diamonds she received and eventually gave to the Nelson Mandela Children's Foundation actually came from Taylor (see Appendix

¹⁰⁰See Rule 85 (A).

III²⁷³). It appeared that even the international media was very interested in the testimonies of the celebrities (see Appendix III²⁷⁶). Apparently, this in tandem with Bell's postulation that the elites are the persons that actually make the news- see 4.1 for Bell's attribution theorisation on the concept of newsworthiness. Thus, the papers devoted much time and space to the celebrities' testimonies, indicating their leanings towards the prosecution.

Significantly, the papers came to be interested in the trial again when the closing arguments were made between 8th February and 11th March, 2011, by both the prosecution and defence. With the papers speculating that Taylor, would not go unpunished for the war crimes committed in Sierra Leone (see Appendix III²⁷⁶⁻²⁷⁷). The papers also covered both the Trial and Sentencing Judgments delivered on 26th April and 30th May, 2012. They analysed the judgments and conducted interviews with CSOs' and NGOs' representatives, students, journalists and unemployed youths, who demonstrated support for Taylor's conviction and sentence of 50 years imprisonment, though there were also comments that the prosecution's request for an 80 year sentence, would have been preferable (see 7. 5).

The papers also captured the scathing comments which Griffiths continued to make against the Court after his client's conviction. Griffiths affirmed that the judgment came as no surprise to him because he knew his client had been demonised by the media and there were overt prejudices throughout the trial. He described the Court as a 'form of 21st Century neo-colonialism', 'a Court that has contaminated the pure waters of justice' etc (see Appendix III^{134, 136, 278-279, 496-497}). The papers also represented Griffiths' dissatisfaction with the prosecution's decision to appeal the Trial Chamber's judgment, asking how much more did they want, when he knew his client would in effect be in prison for life as he was already sixty-three (63) old when he was convicted (ibid). He thus extensively alluded to Justice El Hadji Malick Sow's dissenting judgment to strengthen his accusations about the Court's prejudices against his client (see 7.2.5).

7.2.5 International Conspiracy versus Regional Integration

The two other themes in the coverage are: international conspiracy and regional integration. These two issues are central to most of the highly opinionated articles, which the papers

published. Even though the discourses on the alleged international conspiracy that factually informed the debate, were never made *salient* by any of the papers, they constituted a constituent part of the reportage, that would have had their own effects on audiences (specifically CSOs' representatives) at both the psychological and sociological levels, irrespective of how they were presented in the texts (see 5.1 for Entman's, de Vreese's and Scheufele's theorisations on framing's effects on audiences).

The first issue regarding international conspiracy, which collided with concerns about regional integration and stability, was the international community's effort, through the international media, to support the call to arrest and detain Taylor in Ghana for onward extradition to the SCSL (see 7.2.2) though the papers expressly supported the clamour to get Ghana to extradite Taylor to the SCSL. They also represented Ghana's and ECOWAS's unwillingness to accede to SCSL's call to arrest Taylor. Ghana's and ECOWAS's double standards, clearly contravened the international community's interest on this issue (see Appendix III^{170, 171}).

The international community, through the international media, emphasized that the need to hold Taylor accountable for past violations in Sierra Leone, solidified Ghana's obligations under international law to arrest and extradite him. Ghana however denied having any commitment to arrest Taylor, a sitting President of an ECOWAS State and an invitee of the Ghanaian Government, who had come for a peaceful resolution of the Liberian conflict (see Appendix III^{169, 297, 403}). ECOWAS saw the indictment as an affront to their efforts to bring peace to Liberia because its leadership was about to strike a peace agreement between the Taylor government and the LURD (see Appendix III^{220, 235, 332, 412}). Certainly, ECOWAS eventually came out with a position statement, asking the SCSL to hold back Taylor's indictment in the interest of peace and regional stability because the then ongoing conflict that had wrecked Liberia had the tendency to affect the whole of West Africa (see Appendix III^{242, 398, 502, 528}).

Thus, the international media opposed ECOWAS and affirmed the position that Africa was ill-prepared to end impunity (Lang, op.cit: 4). The papers also reflected this clash of interests when Taylor returned to Liberia to continue with his Presidency, when Liberia was still embroiled in war. The papers (see Appendix III^{173, 201}) mirrored how Sierra Leoneans were dissatisfied and

disillusioned with the attitudes of ECOWAS in shielding Taylor from the SCSL. Further, when Taylor was forced to resign and fled into exile in Nigeria, the papers continued to represent and make the international community's role prominent, in their quest to get Taylor to face justice in Sierra Leone (see Appendix III^{240, 244, 398}).

The papers became more critical of ECOWAS and Nigeria and bolstered the international community's zest to bring Taylor to justice (see Appendix III^{244-245, 412}). The papers (in the above editions) also stated that Nigeria's gesture to accommodate Taylor, then a war crimes indictee, was in contravention of international law and the dignity and authority of the SCSL for which Nigeria was a Member of the Court's Management Committee. They questioned Nigeria's moral obligations under international law to secure Taylor, when the rebellion, which he fuelled in Sierra Leone, cost Nigeria more material and human resources than any other country that constituted ECOMOG (see 7.6). The papers also represented Nigeria's and ECOWAS's position that, Taylor was in Nigeria on the basis of an agreement, meant to peacefully resolve the conflict in Liberia and maintain regional stability.

The international community was eventually forced, albeit tentatively, to understand the plight of Liberians and the peculiar circumstances under which ECOWAS was taking decisions, that appeared to have contravened the quest for war crimes jurisprudence in Africa. Even Crane later confirmed this and argued that Nigeria's intervention at the time was politically expedient for peace and stability to reign in Liberia in particular and West Africa in general. And the High Court of Nigeria, dismissed applications brought by two Nigerians (supported by the Nigerian Coalition on the ICC, an amalgam of about 50 CSOs) for the extradition of Taylor to the SCSL, on the grounds that they were tortured and made to suffer inhuman and degrading treatments, at the hands of the AFRC/RUF junta in Freetown, which was under Taylor's control (see Appendix III³³⁷⁻³³⁸).

The Court's decision thus reflected Nigeria's position for Taylor not to be extradited to maintain its credibility in international relations and for peace to reign in Liberia (*ibid*). But, the international conspiracy heightened, when the USA and EU, joined forces to pressure Nigeria to turn in Taylor to the SCSL, on the allegation that he had breached a fundamental term of his

stay in Nigeria by interfering in Liberian politics (see 7.2.3). It was when Taylor finally took his plea of not guilty in Freetown and decided to sack his first crop of lawyers that some critical pro-Taylor articles were written and sent to the papers for publications. And the papers resorted to publish the said articles unedited with the disclaimers that the views expressed in the articles never reflected their positions concerning the trial.

Most of the pro-Taylor articles lampooned the international community and accused it of hatching a conspiracy to molest and disrespect African leaders, under the guise of war crimes jurisprudence. Here is a classic example of a syndicated article (published in most newspapers), written by Abu Saybana Kamara, one of the lawyers, detailed to represent Taylor, when he sacked his first set of lawyers:

‘The present de facto and de jure political leadership in Liberia is recognized by the international community and must be respected by all. The fact still remains that His Excellency Charles Taylor was hounded out of the Presidency of Liberia, forced into exile and subsequently illegally arrested and jailed by a racist international criminal conspiracy. President Taylor’s removal was an assault on the constitutional rights of the people of Liberia to freely choose their political leaders: it was a mockery of the sovereignty of the Republic of Liberia. It was also illegal under international law. I am gravely disturbed to see an African Head of State in handcuffs. President Taylor was elected by a wide majority of Liberians in an opened, free and fair election that was monitored by the international community, including eminent international statesmen... In this case the law of the jungle was the basis for the politically motivated indictment, the forcible removal of President Taylor from his rightful Presidency, his exile, his illegal arrest and illegal imprisonment at the Special Court... It is repugnant and nauseating to think that this very minute in the year of our Lord 2006, a democratically elected Black African Head of State is sitting in Chains in a cell right here on the soil from just yesterday, white-chained and shipped millions of Black Africans into slavery in Europe and North America’ (see Appendix III^{81, 247, 418}).

The other articles alluded to how the international community had even pushed for the establishment of the ICC, to target African leaders, with allegations of human rights violations, crimes against humanity and war crimes. FDP (see Appendix III^{150, 167, 286, 360, 404}) also published articles sent in by guest writers that catalogued how forces loyal to the North Atlantic Treaty Organisation (NATO) allegedly committed war crimes and crimes against humanity in the former Yugoslavia, for which they were not prosecuted. On this issue, the Western media, however, adopted a framing strategy that absolved NATO forces (after its devastating bombing campaigns) from criminal liability, but heightened the call for war crimes charges against Milosevic and his Serbian forces (McQuail, 2000: 343-344). Can the same be said of the American invasions in Afghanistan and Iraq?

And it is no secret that three of the Permanent Members of the UNO's Security Council (the USA, China and Russia) are not signatories to the ICC's treaty (Cassese, op.cit: 728). Paradoxically, according to ST (see Appendix III³⁵⁹⁻³⁶⁰), the USA which is said to be campaigning against impunity and calling for the need to promote human rights and universal justice at a global scale, has signed many bilateral treaties with African countries (including Sierra Leone) that undermine the operations of the ICC. Thus, from the papers' analyses, it appears that the fight against impunity is based on a system of 'selective justice' that affects the weaker and more vulnerable states, but protects the stronger and more powerful states in international relations. If this is so, can it then be argued that war crimes jurisprudence is yet to triumph over impunity? This is what the New African magazine¹⁰¹ had to say on this question:

And so, the ICC, which during his first ten years has largely focused on African cases, is finally being put to test. If there is a scintilla of concern for justice and the rule of law in the ICC, then one would expect the Western leaders along with their key political functionaries, who committed as much war crimes and crimes against humanity as the Africans brought before the Court, would find themselves under criminal investigations and subject to international arrest warrant. But will the ICC apply the letter of the law to

¹⁰¹ August/September, 2012: 20.

the leaders of the powerful Western countries that were mainly responsible for setting up the ICC, and that provide the bulk of funding for the Court?

Essentially, the above issues constitute the cornerstone of some of the critical debates that were being sustained by the media within the context of the international conspiracy and regional integration frame. However, the ICC's analogy, which was brought into the media's analysis of the dynamics of the Taylor trial, was not thoroughly commented upon. The articles were just published as they were sent in. The angle which is brought into the reportage that should have warranted a thorough media analysis was the position of African leaders, regarding the ICC (see Appendix III⁵¹⁷⁻⁵¹⁸).

However, the eventual conviction of Taylor and the decision by the Appeals Chamber to uphold his conviction further strengthened the international conspiracy dialectic, shrouded in power politics over regional integration and stability. Essentially, the papers also reflected, without any critical analysis, the dissenting judgment of Justice Sow, the Alternate Judge, who was the only West African amongst the Panel of Judges in the Trial Chamber II. Justice Sow acquitted and discharged Taylor of all the 11 counts and dismissed the prosecution's case as one that was entirely devoid of merits (see Appendix III⁵²¹). Thus, proponents of the regional integration and stability argument, used Justice Sow's dissenting Judgment to decry the SCSL as a political court, established by an international conspiracy, to promote judicial imperialism in West Africa (see Appendix III⁵²²⁻⁵²³).¹⁰²

7.3 Content Analysis: The Quantitative Dimension

It is discernible from the above analysis that the papers lent credence to the prosecutorial approach to TJ, albeit with seeming 'biases' in favour of the prosecution's case. Thus, it is also clear that the papers reflected most of TJ's reconciliatory models, but simultaneously emphasised the need to end impunity over achieving reconciliation and poverty alleviation. Apparently, the coverage of the above issues and the controversies that surrounded the

¹⁰²New African, March and April, 2014: 48-53: 63-65.

discourses of the main and sub-frames in the analysis,¹⁰³ were characterised by seeming ‘biases’ on the part of the papers against Taylor.

To further validate this finding, I will quantitatively analyse the extent (if at all) to which each of the papers shrugged-off its idiosyncrasies in reporting the controversial issues in the frames and sub-frames discussed above. In other words, I will seek to establish how the reportage was done by evaluating how the papers separated their views from the actual news of the trial. This will point to the degree to which each of the papers strove to achieve the idealised norms of ‘objectivity’ and ‘accuracy’. This quantitative component will, *inter alia*, help in validating whether the papers’ coverage appeared to have been marked by biases against Taylor. This is simply because the media in Sierra Leone is still grappling with the fundamental problems of communications ethics (see 3.4 and 6.3). This is what Taylor’s lead counsel (Griffiths), told this researcher on 8th July, 2011, in London, about the unprofessionalism that characterised the media’s coverage of the Taylor trial:

... In both countries – i.e. Sierra Leone/Liberia – the print media has a habit of being susceptible to political pressures. E.g. in Liberia, you can virtually anticipate what line a newspaper will take because of its political links with a party or whatever. And to an extent, it’s the same in SL. So, I’m not sure that the overall reporting of the proceedings was balanced. At another level, I got the impression that there was a further distinction – the SL media starting-point was very much anti-Taylor, proceeding on the assumption that Taylor was responsible and that the trial was a waste of time because people already knew he was responsible. Whereas, much of the reporting in Liberia began from the premise that, in a sense, Taylor had been betrayed, although the pro-government media in Liberia – i.e. the papers supporting Sirleaf, were a lot more critical of him – and in many ways, more critical of him than the SL media... (See transcription 12).

Meanwhile, the following tables and graphs, gauge the trend of the papers’ coverage in a bid to establish whether the seeming biases against Taylor, discernible in the qualitative dimension of the content analysis, can as well be discovered, through this quantitative content analysis.

¹⁰³ See 7.3.1, 7.3.2, 7.3.3, 7.3.4 and 7.3.5

Table 6: For Di People's Reportage (Taylor trial)

MEDIA CONTENTS	PRE-TRIAL	TRIAL		POST-TRIAL
	(March 2003-August 2005)	PROSECUTION (April 2006-March 2008)	DEFENCE (July 2009-December 2010)	(April 2012-September 2013)
N	20	22	6	8
V	6	26	0	7
US	4	14	0	5

Table 7: Standard Times' Reportage (Taylor trial)

MEDIA CONTENTS	PRE-TRIAL	TRIAL		POST-TRIAL
	(March 2003-August 2005)	PROSECUTION (April 2006-March 2008)	DEFENCE (July 2009-December 2010)	(April 2012-September 2013)
N	23	18	10	8
V	7	29	12	7
US	3	14	1	8

Table 8: Awoko's Reportage (Taylor trial)

MEDIA CONTENTS	PRE-TRIAL	TRIAL		POST-TRIAL
	(March 2003-August 2005)	PROSECUTION (April 2006-March 2008)	DEFENCE (July 2009-December 2010)	(April 2012-September 2013)
N	8	14	13	13
V	1	6	0	7
US	0	4	2	10

The tables (6, 7 and 8) above show the representation of the numerous publications of For Di People, ST and Awoko categorised into News (N), Views (V) and Unclassified Stories (US). Even though the pre-trial period spanned up to thirty-five months (March, 2003- February, 2006), the analysis restricts itself to only the first thirty months (March, 2003- November, 2005). This period commences in March, 2003, because that was when Taylor's indictment was unsealed. The trial period, which happened to be the longest, lasted for 57 months (i.e. between April, 2006 and December, 2010). The analysis regarding this period is divided into the case for the prosecution and that of the defence. Since the prosecution's case was quite elaborate (as it had

to establish its case beyond reasonable doubt), it led 91 witnesses in evidence between (April, 2006 and March, 2008). This spanned up to 33 months, but the analysis reflecting this period covered only the first 23 months.

This 23 months period is deemed sufficient to gauge the trend in the papers' analyses and coverage of the prosecution's case, through the thorough quantitative analysis presented in tables 1, 2 and 3 in respect of the three papers. The case for the defence commenced in July, 2009 and ended in December, 2010. This, *inter alia*, indicates that the defence's case was not as elaborate as that of the prosecution. It called only 21 witnesses to bolster its case. And the analysis (see tables 1, 2 and 3) covered virtually the whole period (18 months) for which the defence's case lasted.

The post-trial phase, which commenced after the Trial Chamber II's judgment, ended with the pronouncement of the Appeals' Chamber judgment in 2013. Thus, the analysis encompasses the papers' coverage mirroring the period April, 2012 to September, 2013 (i.e. 18 months). Essentially, it would have been unrealistic to analyse all of the papers' contents for the entire period of the trial. Building on the generalisation that communications research observations are inevitably 'selective' and 'incomplete' (Treadwell, *op.cit*:7), the analysis is thus restricted to the periods depicted in tables 1, 2 and 3.

Table 9: The Selected Media's Total Reportage (Taylor trial)

MEDIA CONTENTS	PRE-TRIAL	TRIAL		POST-TRIAL
	(March 2003 - August 2005)	PROSECUTION	DEFENCE	April 2012- August 2013
		(April 2006- May 2008)	(July 2009- December 2010)	
N	51	54	29	29
V	14	61	12	21
US	7	32	3	23

Table 10: Comprehensive Representation of the Total Reportage (Taylor trial)

MEDIA CONTENTS	MEDIA HOUSE	PRE-TRIAL	TRIAL		POST-TRIAL
		(March 2003 - August 2005)	PROSECUTION	DEFENCE	(April 2012 - September 2013)
			(April 2006 - May 2008)	(July 2009 - December 2010)	
N	ST	23	18	10	8
	A	8	14	13	13
	FDP	20	22	6	8
V	ST	7	29	12	7
	A	1	6	0	7
	FDP	6	26	0	7
US	ST	3	14	1	8
	A	0	4	2	10
	FDP	4	14	0	5

Tables 9 and 10 give tabular representations of the sum total of news, views and unclassified Stories of FDP, ST and Awoko. For ease of referencing, I repeat Allison Cooper's postulation, quoted in Lang (op.cit:3), 'press coverage tends to focus on prosecution during the early stages when indictments are unsealed, and then shifts when the defence begins to presents it case'. The first limb of this statement appeared to have been validated by the total pre-trial and trial publications {pre-trial (N 51 + V 14 + US 7 = 72); trial (N 54 + V 61 + US 32= 147); (pre-trial 72 + trial 147= 219)} of the papers.

Thus, 219 (72 pre-trial + 147 trial) contents were published during the periods when the prosecution unsealed the indictment and prosecuted Taylor. This points to the level of *attention*, which the papers paid to the prosecution of Taylor and the *salience* and *valence*, which they attributed to the recurring thematic issues of the prosecution's case, are accordingly analysed in 7.2.1 and 7.2.5. The second limb of Coopers' observation that media coverage 'shifts when the defence begins to present its case' is also authenticated by the findings of this quantitative analysis (N 29+ V 12 + US 3= 44). Thus, the precise contents (44), which the papers published throughout the defence's case, are far less than those which they published during both the pre-trial and the period when the prosecution presented its case.

This clearly confirms the extent to which the papers concentrated on informing and educating CSOs and NGOs on the case against Taylor in comparison to the defenses available to him. Interestingly, even the post-trial phase, attracted much more media coverage {N (29), V (21),

US (23); (29 + 21 + 23 = 73) than the period when Taylor's case was being presented. Meanwhile, 73 as opposed to 44 media items (N, V and US) were published during the post-trial phase, indicating that the papers came to be again interested in covering the entire period, when Taylor's conviction was pronounced by the Trial Chamber II and upheld by the Appeals Chamber. Essentially, this tabular presentation is graphically represented for a clearer analysis and presentation in the subsequent graphs that follow.

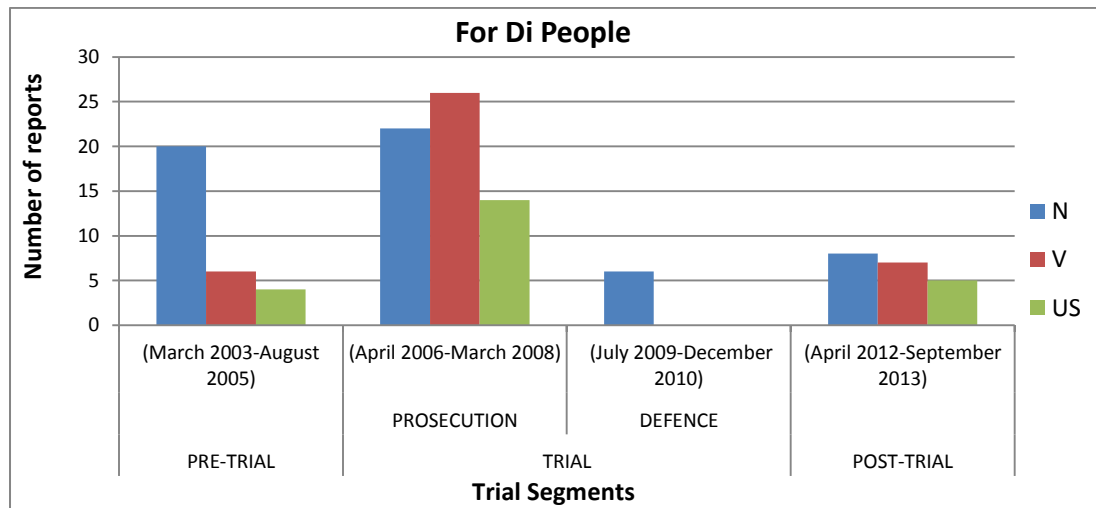


Figure 6: For Di People's Reportage (Taylor trial)

This graph shows how FDP represented the trial of Taylor. The paper published 30 pre-trial contents: 20 were news, 6 views and 4 were unclassified stories. This indicates that FDP appeared to have paid more attention to the publication of news than views and unclassified stories. This however, *prima facie*, presupposes that FDP (like ST and Awoko) strove in its pre-trial reportage to uphold the idealised norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy' (see the journalist's position of what news is in 4.1).

But relying on Fowler (op.cit: 1-3), Altschull (op.cit: 23), Watson (op.cit: 120-141), Severin & Tankard (op.cit: 101-102), Smith (op.cit:34- 41, 47-53) and Entman, (op.cit:165), it can be argued that FDP's 'socially constructed realities' (its pre-trial news items) were not neutral. Thus, the news, views and unclassified stories, were framed with nuances that reflected the media communicator's (FDP's) texts (preferred meanings) which the audiences (CSOs representatives) may or may not have taken (preferred readings), depending on their own

predispositions. However, the trend is different in the paper's reportage of the trial and post-trial phases. The News contents published in both phases {trial (22 + 6) + post-trial (8) = 36}, cannot be equated with the total contents on views and unclassified stories {trial (26 + 0 + 7 = 33) + post-trial (14 + 0 + 5 = 19); (33 + 19 = 52)}, which the paper published.

Analytically, this appeared to have confirmed the qualitative dimension of the content analysis, which established (relying on the 2007 Entman's test) that FDP's publications were biased against Taylor. Also, building on the theoretical argument that 'News production is a discourse anchored by the ideology of news producers or those who employ them' (Watson, op.cit: 130), it appears that FDP's publications were tainted with overt prejudices against Taylor, whom the paper dubbed as 'war criminal', 'war lord', 'devil' etc. This biased position against Taylor, became clear in the paper's coverage even before he was convicted (see analysis between 7.2.1 and 7.2.5). Hence, it is contended that FDP continually appeared to have failed to uphold the idealised norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy' in its reportage.

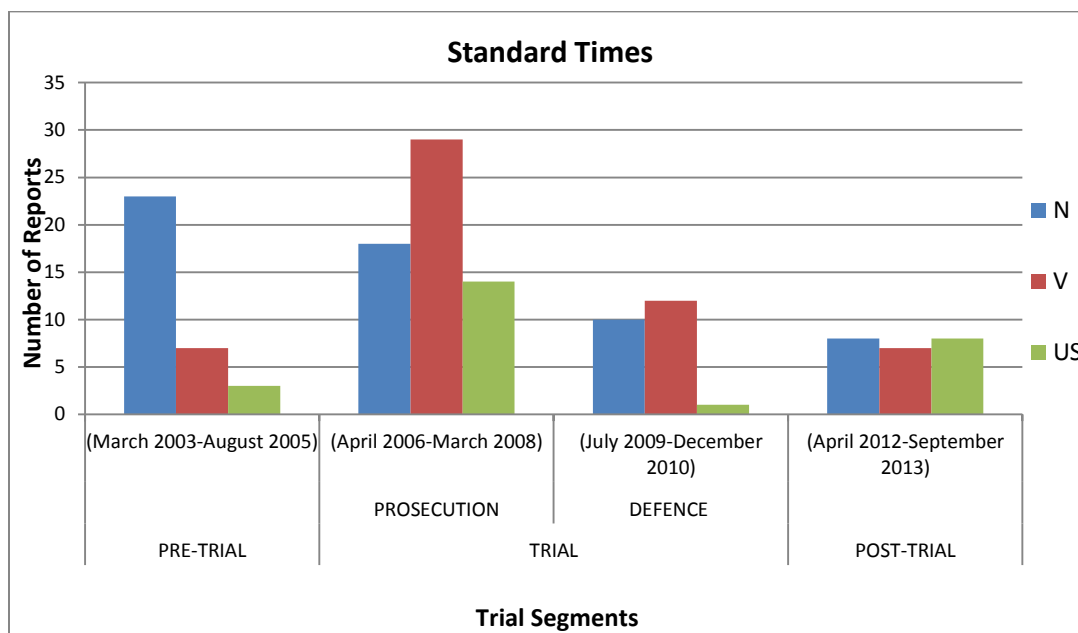


Figure 7: Standard Times' Reportage (Taylor trial)

This graph shows how ST represented the Taylor trial. The paper published 33 pre-trial contents: 23 news, 7 and 3 views and unclassified stories respectively. This indicates that ST appeared to have paid more attention to the publications of news (23) than to the dispatch of

views (7) and unclassified stories (3). This *prima facie* presupposes that ST (like FDP and Awoko) strove in its pre-trial reportage to uphold the idealised norms of ‘objectivity’ and ‘accuracy’. But relying on Fowler (op.cit: 1-3), Altschull (op.cit: 23), Watson (op.cit: 120-141), Severin & Tankard (op.cit: 101-102), Smith (op.cit:34- 41, 47-53) and Entman, (op.cit:165), it can be argued that ST’s ‘socially constructed realities’ (its pre-trial news contents) were not neutral. The news, views and unclassified Stories, were framed with the most effectively chosen nuances that appeared to have mirrored the media communicators’ (ST’s) texts (preferred meanings) which the audiences (CSOs representatives) may or may not have taken (preferred readings), depending on their perceptual tendencies.

This trend is however different in the paper’s reportage of the trial and post-trial phases. The news contents dispatched in both phases {trial (18 + 10 = 28) + post-trial (8) = 36}, cannot be equated with the total contents on views and unclassified stories {trial (29 + 12+ 7 = 48) + post-trial (14 + 1 + 8 = 23); 48 + 23 = 71} which the paper published. Analytically, this seems to have confirmed the qualitative dimension of the content analysis, which establishes (relying on the same 2007 Entman’s test) that the pre-trial, trial and post- trial publications of ST were again biased against Taylor. Again, building on Watson’s (op.cit: 130) theoretical argument (see analysis on FDP above), it appears that ST’s publications were biased against Taylor, whom the paper dubbed as ‘war criminal’, ‘war lord’, ‘illegal exporter of uncut diamonds’ etc. even before his indictment was unsealed (see the analysis between 7.2.1 and 7.2.5). Hence, it seems that ST continually failed to uphold the idealised norms of ‘objectivity’ and ‘accuracy’ in its reportage.

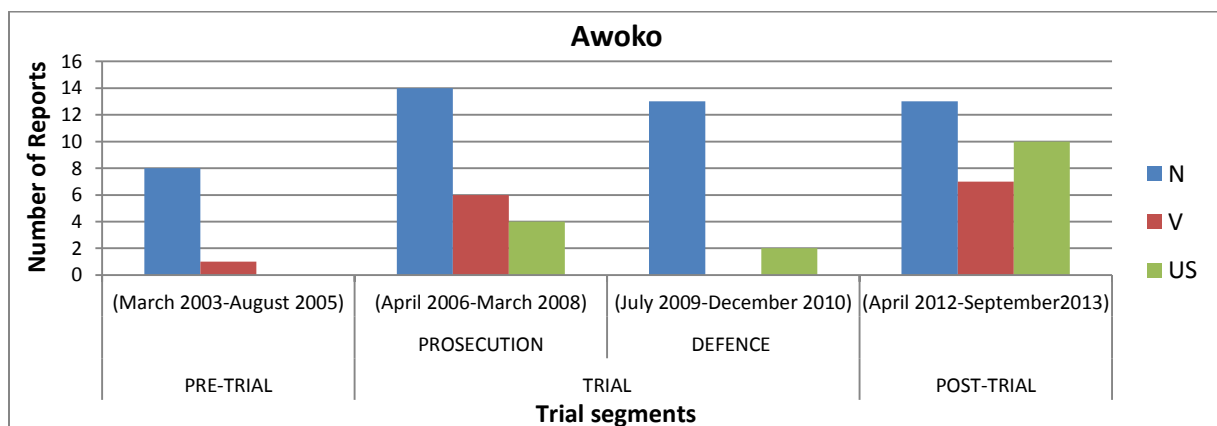


Figure 8: Awoko’s Reportage (Taylor trial)

This graph shows how Awoko represented the Taylor trial. The paper put out only 9 pre-trial contents: 8 news, 1 and 0 view and unclassified stories respectively. It appears from this quantification that Awoko paid more attention to the publication of news contents than the dispatches of views and unclassified stories put together ($1 + 0 = 1$). This *prima facie* presupposes that Awoko (like FDP and ST) strove in its pre-trial reportage to uphold the idealised norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy'. But relying on Fowler (op.cit: 1-3), Altschull (op.cit: 23), Watson (op.cit: 120-141), Severin & Tankard (op.cit: 101-102), Smith (op.cit:34- 41, 47-53) and Entman, (op.cit:165), it can be argued that Awoko's 'socially constructed realities' (its pre-trial news contents) were not neutral. Hence they were craftily framed (see the qualitative dimension of the content analysis) with the most appropriately chosen nuances that reflected its (Awoko's) texts (preferred meanings), which the audiences (CSOs representatives) may or may not have taken (preferred readings), depending on their perceptual tendencies.

This trend is continued in the paper's trial and post-trial phases. The news contents dispatched in both phases {trial ($14 + 13 = 27$) + post-trial (13) = 40}, cannot be equated with the total contents on views and unclassified stories {trial ($6 + 0 + 7 = 13$) + post-trial ($4 + 2 + 10 = 16$); $13 + 16 = 29$ } which it published. Analytically, this appeared to have confirmed the qualitative dimension of the content analysis, which establishes (relying on the 2007 Entman's test) that the pre-trial, trial and post- trial publications of Awoko were biased against Taylor. This is also seen in the fact that the paper paid more attention to the prosecution's case than that of the defence (see graph above). Awoko almost reported the entire case for the prosecution (see graph above) with its chosen nuances and slants that factually informed the issues as elucidated in the qualitative dimension of the analysis between 7.0 and 7.4.

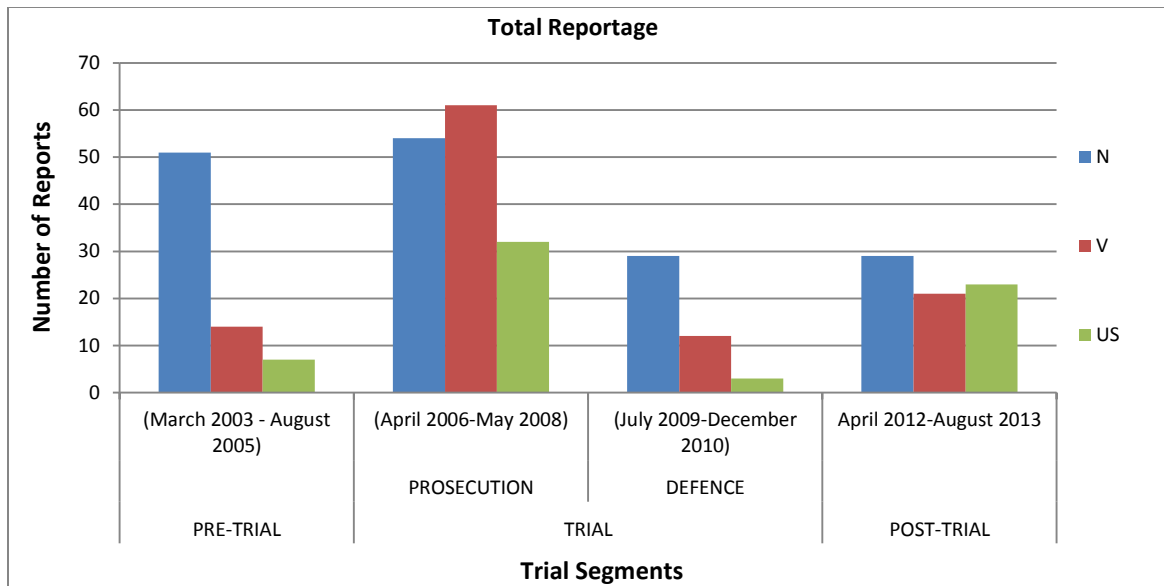


Figure 9: The Selected Media's Total Reportage (Taylor trial)

This representation depicts the tabular data represented in table 9 as explicated above.

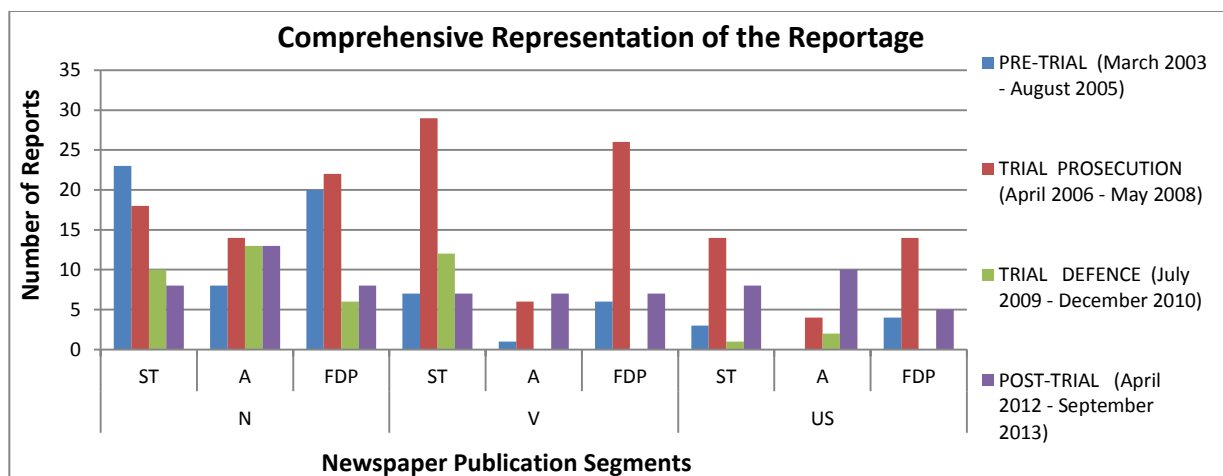


Figure 10: Breakdown of the Total Reportage of the Selected Media (Taylor trial)

This representation depicts the graphic presentation of the tabular data represented in table 10 as explicated above.

7.4 Discourse Analysis

The qualitative and quantitative dimensions of the content analysis (see 7.2 and 7.3) clearly depict how the papers represented the Taylor trial (see research question 3). There appeared to have been evidence of national prejudices against Taylor in the agenda-setting ability manifested in the papers' framing and priming strategies. And the papers, to some extent,

strove to separate their views from the actual news contents, which they published for consumption at the psychological and sociological levels (see de Vreese's and Scheufele's theorisations on framing's effects on audiences in 5.1). Thus, even when it comes to the media's impacts on audiences' perceptions of issues, it tends not to matter greatly how much *prominence* the media may have given to particular issues because audiences are prone to believe only those bits of the texts that are cognate with their own personal mental schemas (see Entman's theorisation in 5.1).

Prominence thus depicts the leanings of the communicators on the issues. The issues in this analysis are the indictment, trial, conviction and eventual sentence of Taylor to 50 years imprisonment; a sentence, which Taylor appealed, but was upheld by the Appeals Chamber. These issues eventually culminated in the anti-Taylor media campaign (in the name of promulgating war crimes jurisprudence), which appeared to have been initially championed by the international media, but was subsequently fuelled by the papers, because there was a national perception in Sierra Leone (mainstream discourse) that Taylor was guilty even before his trial began. And given the historical background to the conflict and Taylor's role in it (see analysis 7.2.1), the issues which the media thus made *prominent*, clearly resonated with the perceptions of audiences (CSOs representatives) across Sierra Leone (see 7.5), because Taylor's involvement in the conflict in Sierra Leone, had devastating effects on their lives and property, infrastructure and economy etc.

Thus, the dynamics of the Taylor trial became overwhelmingly central to the thematic issues that permeated the discourses of CSOs and NGOs in Sierra Leone's public sphere. Essentially, to further validate these findings, a critical discourse analysis is done on the mainstream discourses that permeated the frames and sub-frames analysed between 7.2.1 and 7.2.5, to establish how the *language* used in the identifiable frames that characterised the reportage might have influenced CSOs' representatives' perceptions of the indictment and trial, conviction and eventual sentence of Taylor.

Again, the instrumentality of discourse analysis in the deconstruction of the mainstream discourses that factually informed the said identifiable frames cannot be overemphasized

(Mautner, op.cit: 33). Thus, effective deconstruction can aid identification of the patterns in the dictions that are embedded in the frames and sub-frames that characterised the coverage. Invariably, the dictions used in the reportage would have had ‘unequivocally negative (or positive) semantic loads, depending on how they were used in sentences. Even figures (numbers) can aid the analysis, because of the ‘rhetorical effects’ they would have had in the interpretation of the contents within the frames (Mautner, op.cit: 38-39).

Thus, the international media and a Sierra Leonean diaspora newspaper published online from Canada (The Patriotic Vanguard) used words that unequivocally denote and connote negative semantic loads (Mautner, op.cit:38) against Taylor. The following abstractions contained a plethora of words and phrases (underlined) that tend to validate this finding:

1. ‘... a notorious Liberian ex-President and warlord’ {Caption: ‘The Beginning of the end of Impunity for the World’s once all powerful thugs’: The Economist, Thursday, 5th July, 2007}
2. ‘... once one of Africa’s most feared warlords’ {Caption: Taylor sanctions impair defence, says lawyer: Agence France- Presse, Thursday, 16th August, 2007}
3. ... the most notorious indictee of the SCSL {The Taylor trial and confidence level of Sierra Leoneans: The Patriotic Vanguard, Thursday, 5th July, 2007}
4. ‘... he continued to act like a warlord, abusing citizens and selling Liberia’s natural resources for personal gains’ {Caption: Justice for Taylor: Can these war crimes court get it right? The Christian Science Monitor, Thursday, 5th July, 2007}

The dictions ‘notorious’, ‘warlord’, ‘thugs’, etc. which the international media and the said Sierra Leonean diaspora online newspaper appeared to have intentionally and continually used to describe Taylor, manifestly denote their prejudices against him and as well demonstrate negative semantic loads, indicating how *ferocious* and *deadly* Taylor was. This was geared towards the campaign of not only getting Taylor to face war crimes trial, but to convict and

punish him as well (see 7.2.4). The emphasis on conviction and punishment before the trial ended, which the international media projected, appeared to have contravened the idealised journalistic norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy' and the legal principle of presumption of innocence, which is central to war crimes jurisprudence (see 3.3).

Interestingly, the papers' coverage of the indictment and trial, conviction and sentence of Taylor, was not dissimilar to how the international media represented the dynamics of his trial. Hence, from the discourses in the frames and sub-frames analysed above, it appeared that the papers, intentionally and continually demonised Taylor and dubbed him 'murderer' and 'killer' (see Appendix III¹²²), 'war criminal' (see Appendix III⁴²²), 'notorious ex-President', 'criminal' and 'prisoner' (see Appendix III⁴²²), 'warlord' (see Appendix III^{205, 421}), 'devil' (see Appendix III²⁷²), 'illegal exporter of uncut and blood diamonds' (see Appendix III^{276, 495}), 'warlord turned President' (see Appendix III⁴⁷⁸), 'tyrant' and 'bigot' (see Appendix III³¹¹) 'the God father of the illegal and demonic AFRC/RUF alliance' (see Appendix III^{79, 289}), 'a military terrorist' (see Appendix III¹²⁸), 'the bad boy of West Africa' (see Appendix III¹⁷²), 'the former butcher in West Africa' (see Appendix III⁴³⁷), 'a blood thirsty and barbaric person' (see Appendix III⁴⁸⁴) and '...a villain, a onetime US jail-escapee, an indicted international criminal and a fugitive from international justice' (see Appendix III⁶⁴).

Meanwhile, the plethora of ferocious descriptions, which the papers attributed to Taylor, throughout the pre-trial, trial and post-trial phases, undoubtedly denoted and connoted negative semantic loads about Taylor and his operations that eventually resulted in his indictment and trial, conviction and sentence. Essentially, the said descriptions had their influences on the perceptions of CSOs and NGOs across Sierra Leone, because they were consciously involved in the country's entire TJ process. Below are typical examples of how the papers reflected the perceptions of CSOs' representatives' on the eventual conviction and sentence of Taylor:

1. 'No Conviction of Command Responsibility... But Taylor is Guilty on 11 Counts' {Awoko Monday, 30th April, 2012}

2. 'This judgment is strong message for potential perpetrators of violence {Awoko, ibid }
3. We Sierra Leonean students are grateful to the international community for the support in bringing Taylor to justice' {Awoko, ibid}
4. 'No hiding place for war criminals' {Awoko, ibid}
5. 'People of Sierra Leone let this verdict unit us!' {Awoko, ibid}
6. 'The conviction of Charles Taylor is a landmark moment for international justice' {FDP, 30th April, 2012}
7. 'It clearly demonstrates that those who commit atrocities will be held to account and that no matter their position they will not enjoy impunity' { ST, 30th April, 2012}

Further, even when the Appeals Chamber dismissed Taylor's appeal and upheld his conviction and 50 years sentence, the papers positively represented the Appeals Chamber decision, as one that resonated with the mainstream discourses prevalent in Sierra Leone's public sphere at the time. The following publications are instructive on this issue:

1. 'Justice Gelaga King said Taylor fuelled a conflict that became a threat to international peace and security' {FDP, Friday, 27th September, 2013}
2. 'Human rights groups have welcomed the outcome of the appeal. In a statement Amnesty International said that it sent a clear message to the leaders across the World that no-one is immune from justice' {FDP, 27th September, 2013}
3. 'This conviction of Charles Taylor must pave the way for further prosecution' {FDP, Wednesday, 16th October, 2013}

4. 'Charles Taylor is the first former head of state to be convicted of war crimes since World War II' {ST, Wednesday, 16th October, 2013}
5. '... the sentence does not replace the amputated limbs, it does not bring back to life those who were murdered and it does not heal the wounds of those who are victims of sexual violence, but the sentence bring a level of justice and reflect the condemnation of all members of the global community for the suffering inflicted on innocent men, women and children {Awoko, Thursday, 17th October, 2013}

7.5 Semi-Structured Interviews

To further validate the findings from the content (qualitative and quantitative dimensions) and discourse analyses in 7.2 and 7.3 above (see research question 3), the need arose to gauge the opinions of some of the journalists that covered the trial through semi-structured interviews on the recurring themes of the coverage. Ibrahim Sorie Sesay (then member of the Editorial Board of FDP), Ibrahim Karim-Sei (then Editor-in-Chief of ST) and Kelvin Lewis (still Editor-in-Chief of Awoko), were the journalists that consented to the interviews. The three (3) journalists answered questions regarding their interests in the trial, their perceptions of Nigeria in providing a safe haven for Taylor, the international community's role in getting Taylor to face justice, the reason why they presented Taylor as if he were already guilty before his trial commenced, the impacts of the trial on CSOs and regional integration in West Africa, their personal views on the Trial Chamber's II and Appeals Chamber's Judgments etc.

To the questions why the papers devoted so much time and space in the coverage of the Taylor trial and why they appeared to have tilted their publications against Taylor and in favour of the prosecution, the responses were not dissimilar. Sesay said FDP monitored the trial in The Hague because the paper wanted to assist the SCSL with vital information to ensure that those who bore the greatest responsibility for the conflict (including Taylor) are brought to justice, noting that the paper never tilted its stories against Taylor, but it highlighted Taylor's role in the conflict and how his utterances of making Sierra Leone tasting the bitterness of war were actualised (see transcription 13). Karim-Sei stated that ST merely reflected the overwhelming public perception that Taylor was responsible for the carnage in Sierra Leone and as a news

medium, he thought his paper was obliged to represent what was happening in the court to the people, adding that the paper did not tilt its stories in favour of the prosecution, but presented it in a way that mirrored the sufferings of Sierra Leoneans at the hands of Taylor (see transcription 14).

Lewis explained that Awoko paid greater attention to the trial because it was topical and had to do with a war that brought untold sufferings to Sierra Leoneans. He furthered that Awoko never tilted its publications to favour the prosecution's case because the paper reported objectively what was said in court. He cautioned that it would appear that Awoko gave prominence to the prosecution's case because they were talking a lot more time than the defence lawyers and the paper had to report the proceedings (see transcription 15). Thus, from the above responses, it can be inferred that the papers considered the trial important and upheld their responsibility to report the proceedings because they were cognate with the mainstream discourses of the society. This appears to have dovetailed with Shaw's human rights journalism and Thompson's new journalistic paradigm (see 2.2 and 4.1). Also, it appears (at this stage) that the papers attributed responsibility for the conflict to Taylor.

On Nigeria's role in providing a safe haven for Taylor after he was indicted, the responses appeared to be similar with slight technical variations. Sesay said FDP noticed Nigeria's double standards in the whole episode. He stated that it appeared that Nigeria which had spent human and material resources in ending the war was now providing asylum for Taylor to escape justice. He however furthered that had Taylor sought asylum in another country, it would have been difficult to get him to face justice, adding that it was a blessing in disguise, when Nigeria opted to rescue Taylor after he was kicked out of power in Liberia (see transcription 13). Karim-Sei confirmed that ST maintained this same position, adding that Nigeria's intervention was to make sure that the tension surrounding the Charles Taylor saga was reduced and for him to be kept in a place where he could be easily extradited to face justice (see transcription 14).

Lewis said Awoko saw it as a continuation of the regime change theory, which ECOWAS had started with the RUF leadership, by replacing Foday Sankoh with Issa Sesay, noting that Taylor was replaced as President of Liberia in the interest of regional stability and was temporarily

granted asylum in Nigeria. Concerning the papers' positions on the UN Security Council's Resolution 1688, which called for the transfer of the Taylor trial to The Hague, FDP and ST unreservedly supported the resolution on grounds of regional security and stability, with Sesay emphasizing President Sirleaf feared that Taylor still had loyalists determined to disrupt the peace processes in Sierra Leone and Liberia (see transcription 13). Karim-Sei cautioned that the commencement of the trial in Freetown affected the relationship between Sierra Leone and Liberia because some Liberians had not wanted their ex-President to be tried in Freetown by a UN based Sierra Leonean court (see transcription 14). Awoko however though affirmed the regional stability and security saga, stated that it would have been better had the trial been held in Freetown. This is how Lewis (see transcription 15) explained the paper's position:

But for us, we felt that taking the Taylor trial away was in fact moving the spotlight from where the whole thing happened. And as you would have realized, the trial did not get as much publicity as it would have got if the trial was still going on in Sierra Leone. The publicity for the trial was now confined to bits and pieces of juicy material. For example, when the issue of Naomi Campbell and the diamond that was or was not given came up, that was broadcasted worldwide, but the day-to-day happenings in the trial never came to the public view as it would have been if the trial was in Freetown, Sierra Leone. So our view was it was not in the best interest of all of us.

To the question why the papers presented Taylor as if he was already guilty before his Trial started, the responses also appeared to be similar with some minor technical variations. Sesay stated that FDP catalogued a chronicle of Taylor's criminal activities against the people of Sierra Leone as evidence upon which the SCSL could rely, emphasizing that it was for the court to establish whether what the paper presented was credible or not (see transcription 13). Karim-Sei said Taylor was presented as a convict before his trial started because he had said Sierra Leoneans would taste the bitterness of war. He furthered that it was Taylor that convicted himself before the trial started, noting that ST merely reflected what was in the public's domain that Taylor was responsible for the war crimes committed in Sierra Leone (see transcription 14). Lewis affirmed that Awoko indeed presented Taylor as guilty before his trial started because the paper had first-hand information about what he did to Sierra Leoneans, leading to his trial,

noting that Awoko was never wrong because Taylor was eventually convicted in the end (see transcription 15).

Regarding the staggering costs incurred to bring Taylor to justice and whether they think that such moneys should have been expended on post-conflict reconciliation and poverty alleviations, the responses were not dissimilar. The editors affirmed the points that though the international community expended huge sums in bringing Taylor to justice, the moneys were well spent because impunity was addressed and the message has been sent that irrespective of people's positions, they cannot commit war crimes and crimes against humanity anywhere with impunity. They also expressed the same views that though it would have been good for the moneys to have been spent in post-conflict reconciliation and poverty alleviation, it was better that impunity was addressed and that justice of any kind is expensive (see transcriptions 13, 14 and 15).

On the controversial issue of whether the Taylor trial was largely precipitated by an international conspiracy or the genuine quest for international justice, the editors affirmed that the trial was precipitated by a genuine quest for justice for Sierra Leoneans:

'... it was not a question of Western conspiracy, it was just a process to end impunity on the part of some of our despotic rulers in Africa' (Sesay of FDP - see transcription 13).

'I think it was a genuine quest for international justice. Whatever conspiracy may have arisen at that time, I believe it was simply because the international community was responding to the desires of the people of this region to get rid of terrorism in the region. So for us, the effort was genuine and we are happy that at the end of the day, justice was served' (Karim-Sei of ST- see transcription 14).

'I think it was precipitated by a genuine quest for international justice. It was a new form of justice. What had happened in Sierra Leone was unique and it was shocking to the whole world, and the world had to stand up and address that sort of behavior. And if we look back at the Special Court, it set some precedents. It was a new way of attacking or resolving a new problem...' (Lewis of Awoko- see transcription 15).

Regarding the impact of the media's coverage of the Taylor trial on CSOs representatives, the editors affirmed:

'Well the impact is that it has created some awareness among most civil societies. The outreach section of the special court carried out a lot of sensitization programs before, during and after the trial, and that goes a long way to sort of sensitize our own civil society movements and the newspapers and journalists themselves were at the forefront of all these things. And also, civil society now believes that they can be very vocal especially on issues that borders their wellbeing or issues that relate to the security of the state or issues that pertain to the justice of the state. So, in one way or the other, it goes a long way to actually promote civil society activities in Sierra Leone.' (Sesay of FDP-see transcription 13)

'Well interestingly, after the war, civil society organizations did not have the kind of steam, the cohesion they had during the war, before the war. It is like we were only united as civil society during the war. But at the end of the war, you know what happened to civil societies. Most of them disintegrated, some became political groupings. And so for us, it was a disappointment that what we stood for at that time, even though we accomplished it, but we did not continue to pursue the objective of bringing civil societies together to fight a common cause. Today, I don't think that we even have a civil society in this country. Because everybody is now a self-seeker, everybody is seeking his own personal interest. And so for me, the impact was not as great as we expected. We wanted that as a civil society group which came together to fight a common cause, a common enemy, we shall continue in that light so that today we can even stand against systems that are not working in the interest of the public. But that does not exist anymore.' (Karim-Sei of ST-see transcription 14)

'Well, I think they followed the media, they now realize that role of the media. They engaged with the media, and they now know to a large extent that they can get the support of the media in their advocacy work. And so for them, it was an eye opener; it was a new way of working with the media, it was a new way of knowing how to propagate issues, and it was a new way of using the media as a tool for advocacy' (Lewis of Awoko- see transcription 15).

On the issue of the trial's impact on regional integration in West Africa the editors commented that:

'One of the major impacts it had is that first, people came up with the suggestion that instead of us looking at those that bear the greatest responsibility, we should also try people that in one way or the other connected with 'those that bear the greatest responsibility'. So that awareness was actually raised. And there were a lot of pressure from people within the sub-region to bring those that are connected to some of the atrocities committed to justice. That's one impact. And the other impact is that, as I said earlier, it's a clear signal to end impunity, that is, those that hold political leadership should not use it to terrorize their own people.' (Sesay of FDP- see transcription 13).

'Well, first of all, I don't believe what we have gone through will happen again. Few people cannot wake up in the morning, take up arms against their own people because we have a system now in place, a precedent has been set that when you do this that is what will happen to you. So for us, it has impact on peace, lasting peace for that matter. Because that was the quest, the genuine quest of many people in this region that we wanted peace. And so, whatever was the result, the outcome of Charles Taylor trial or whatever, I think we appreciate that greatly'. (Karim-Sei- see transcription 15).

'I think if anything, it made the case for the region to come together because the initial response of the whole crisis was for a regional army, and now we have seen progress on that with regional logistics centers being setup, regional standing army being setup. So I think it had positive effect on the call for regional integration' (Lewis- see transcriptions 15).

Finally, to the Trial and Appeals Chambers' Judgments the editors reiterated the facts that:

'... When Taylor was convicted, the prosecution suggested eighty years imprisonment. The defence counsel said that was too much. Later, the sentence itself was reduced to fifty years imprisonment. Now, my opinion on that is that I think a precedent has been set; a precedent wherein our rulers will never think of using power to terrorize their own people. Before the trial, Taylor's counsels were arguing that he should have that diplomatic immunity because at the time when these atrocities were committed, he was still a sitting President in Liberia. So

this trial has made nonsense of all those principles, so to say. So, in my opinion, I believe that Taylor deserve to do the fifty years' (Sesay of FDP-see transcription 13).

'We are so grateful that Special Court has been able to achieve our own goal, and that was what we were looking forward to because impunity should not continue indefinitely. And the effort of the Special Court to end impunity in so far as rebel movements or threat to the peace in the sub-region is concerned, I think we should highly appreciate it' (Karim-Sei-see transcription 14).

'Well, I'm not a lawyer, but I think there were sound arguments and those arguments were thrashed out and I think they came to a logical conclusion. I felt that Taylor would have been convicted for a lot more things than he was convicted for. I was surprised that he got away with quite a number of things and he was actually being held responsible for only one. So that tells you that the trial itself was very fair and I think it sets some precedents, which are laudable. At the end of the day, I think justice was achieved' (Lewis of Awoko- see transcription 15).

7.6 Ethnographic Surveys: Group Discussions

The findings from the above analyses (framing-qualitative and quantitative, discourse and semi-structured interviews) are geared towards answering the research question *how* selected media in Sierra Leone represented the Taylor trial (i.e. research question 3). This reflects how the stimulus (media content) was presented by the papers for responses from CSOs' representatives across Sierra Leone.¹⁰⁴ Thus, how the representatives of CSOs responded to the media's contents, regarding the Taylor trial is the concern of this section (see research question 4). However, questions concerning the selection and districts (regions) of the discussants, for the ethnographic surveys; how, when and where, the group discussions were held, have already been answered in 5.5 and 6.6.

Significantly, the discussants were questioned on a number of issues, including whether and how often they followed the coverage, whether they thought the coverage was balanced and fair, how relevant they thought the proceedings were to TJ and CSOs, whether they considered

¹⁰⁴ See the stimulus-response analysis explicated in 3.2.1 and 4.1.

the trial relevant in terms of the financial resources expended to bring Taylor to justice, whether they thought such funds should have been spent to promote post-conflict reconciliation and poverty alleviation etc. Again, the responses were accordingly anonymised to preserve confidentiality.¹⁰⁵

To the question how aware were the discussants about the media's coverage of the Taylor trial, in Freetown (Western Area), the proportion was nine to one. That is nine of the ten discussants confirmed that they were well aware of the media's coverage of the trial. All ten (10) discussants from the North were aware of the coverage. For the South as well, all eleven discussants were aware, but for the East, ten of the eleven discussants were aware of the media's coverage of the trial. Thus, the level of awareness of the media's coverage of the trial was quite overwhelming on the part of CSOs representatives.

Asked how regularly they followed the trial, in Freetown, nine claimed to have followed the trial occasionally, whilst one claimed to have done so regularly. In the North, only three followed it regularly, but seven claimed to have done so occasionally. In the South, the proportion was four to seven. That is, four out of eleven, followed and monitored the trial regularly, whilst seven did so occasionally. In the East, the proportion was one to ten. That is, ten followed the trial occasionally, but it was only one that did so regularly. Amongst the ten that occasionally followed the trial in the East, a discussant in Kenema had this to say:

‘As a grassroots woman, living in a dull village, and with access to no media gadgets, and therefore I did not follow the trials at all’ (Kenema Discussant).

Thus, it can be inferred from the above analysis, that a significant proportion (over 75%) of CSOs representatives did not regularly follow the coverage. Regarding the issue of whether the coverage of the trial was fair and balanced, in Freetown, the proportion was four out of six who said it was fair. In the North eight considered the reportage to be fair and balanced with two disagreeing. In the South, ten said the coverage was fair and balanced, with one disagreeing. In the East, ten considered the reportage to be unfair and imbalanced with one disagreeing.

¹⁰⁵ See transcriptions 8, 9, 10 and 11 to validate the findings from the group discussions in all four regions of Sierra Leone.

Concerning the issue of whether the local media actually provided a fair and balanced coverage of the trial, in Freetown seven said the local media did not provide a fair and balanced coverage, but three said the reportage was fair and balanced.

In the North, nine said the reportage was fairly done, but one did not agree that the reportage was fair and balanced. In the South, ten out of eleven stated the reportage was biased in favour of the prosecution as against Taylor, but one said it was fair and balanced. In the East, eight said the reportage was biased in favour of the prosecution, but three took the contrary position. Analytically, 52% said the reportage was positively tilted in favour of the prosecution, but 48% said it was fair and that the media only reflected the facts embedded in the evidence that unfolded during the trial.

Regarding the issue of fairness in the reportage of both the local and international media, the discussants (in all four regions) overwhelmingly agreed that the international media was much more consistent with its fair and balanced reportage, during certain stages of the trial. Nationally, the international media was commended because they had the requisite staff that were present at the trial and with the available resources at their disposal, they filed in credible and detailed report via the internet and satellite, and thus making it possible for more people to access and see the events live as they unfolded in The Hague. On the part of the local media, the credit given to their coverage was not unconnected with their attempts to translate the proceedings in the trial into different local dialects.

Regional variations were also evident in the responses to the question: should the money spent on the trial have been used for post-conflict reconciliation and poverty alleviation. In Freetown the proportion was seven to two; whereas in the North nine of the ten respondents believed the moneys were well expended to achieve justice. In the South, eight said the moneys were well expended to attain the ideal of justice, but three said the moneys should have been spent on poverty alleviation and reconstruction; whereas in the East, six favoured the justice argument, but five supported the poverty alleviation and reconstruction arguments.

7. 7 Triangulating the Answers to Research Questions Three and Four

The qualitative and quantitative dimensions of the content analysis (see 7.2 and 7.3) and the findings from the discourse analysis (see 7. 4) and interviews (see 7. 5) with the editors, who

covered the trials, depict how the selected media represented the Taylor trial (see research question 3). Again, it appears that evidence of national prejudices are seen in the agenda-setting ability manifested in the news selection, framing and priming strategies (see 3. 1, 4. 1, 5. 1) of the papers in the coverage. From the findings of the above methodological frameworks, it can be concluded that the papers, to a very limited extent, strove to separate their views from the actual news contents, which they published (see 4. 1 and 5. 1).

Hence, based on the empirical evidence it can be argued that their reportage appeared to have been done in contravention of the idealised norms of 'objectivity' and 'accuracy'. Essentially, from the same methodological frameworks, it can be further concluded that FDP, ST and Awoko, appeared not to have been neutral in their coverage of the Taylor trial (see 4.1).The papers' seemed to have taken the same position in the ideological and political debates on the need to get Taylor to face justice. And it was their individual ideological and political considerations that determined how they processed and presented the events and issues (news selection, framing and priming) that permeated their coverage of the Taylor trial (agenda setting).

This seems to confirm criticisms about the journalists' purported neutrality of news (See 4. 2- Fowler, op.cit:1-4 Van Dijk, op.cit: 241, Mautner, op.cit: 38).The question that is pertinent at this stage is whether the frames (Entman, op.cit: 53)in the communications texts catalogued in 7.2 above, necessarily influenced audiences' (CSOs' representatives) thinking.This has to be looked at from the standpoints of both the psychological and sociological levels (Scheufele op.cit:305-308; de Vreese op.cit: 52), hence the need for the levels of analysis of the media's impacts on the Taylor trial and CSOs' representatives in this triangulation. Thus, the tests for both the psychological and sociological analyses are clearly explicated in 6.7.

Arguably, it can be concluded that at both the psychological and sociological levels, the frames in the communications texts in 7.2 influenced the thought processes of CSOs' representatives across Sierra Leone because they confirmed that their knowledge about the Taylor trial was shaped by media coverage, which most of them followed occasionally and some regularly. This, therefore, indicates the extent to which CSOs' representatives became interested in the

proceedings of the Taylor trial in particular, and how the media sustained the controversial debates that factually informed the trial (see 3.4). Regarding the issue of whether the local media's reportage of the trial was fair and balanced, the mixed views from the discussants across the country, appeared to have strengthened the theoretical argument that the communications texts in the frames, either challenged or strengthened their pre-existing biases against the contents of different sections of the Sierra Leone media (see 4.1).

This seems to confirm the post-modernism and structured interpretative models (see 4.2), emphasizing the position that media contents are polysemic and can thus be consumed by audiences in a way that reflect their pre-existing biases (in this case the perception that Taylor was the mastermind behind the conflict in Sierra Leone and was thus guilty of the offences for which he was charged). This can be bolstered by Iyengar's (see 5.1) audience fragmentation and selective exposure arguments that are still giving credence to the minimal consequences theory in this era of ICTs (see 4.2). However, the impact at the sociological level is gauged on the issue of their overwhelming condemnation of the local media and their eventual commendation of the international media because of its impartial, balanced and fair dispatches on the trial.

The media's impact at the sociological level is also gauged on the issue of the relevance of the trial, as there was a consensus amongst the discussants across the country that through media coverage they got to understand issues relating to the causes of the war, human rights, post-conflict justice and reconciliation, those who bore the greatest responsibility, the need to end impunity etc. (see transcriptions 8, 9, 10 and 11). Again, in all four regions, there was overwhelming agreement that where CSOs representatives had been exposed to media coverage, they felt that myths had been dispelled and the course of justice and reconciliation served:

To me, the media helped in changing the perceptions of the people. People were of the opinion that anyone indicted by the Special Court was going to be slowly poisoned, tortured and even sentenced to death {A discussant from the North, Bombali district- see transcription 9}

The reporting of the trial of Charles Taylor helped in changing the mindset of our people from seeing Liberians in general as our enemies, but rather as neighbours {A discussant from the Freetown-see transcription 8}

One thing we have learnt from the media is that we are not living in isolation and one will face the ICC if one uses a machete to butcher others {A discussant from the South, Bo district- see transcription 10}

The media changed the decisions of people somehow because the issue of revenge was frowned upon and it became a non-option, especially for the victims and their relations... {A discussant from the East, Kenema-see transcription 11}

Finally, regarding the issue of whether CSOs' representatives thought the money spent in seeking to end impunity in Sierra Leone should have been spent in tackling poverty, compensating war victims and fostering post-conflict reconciliation, reconstruction and development, at the sociological level, the overwhelming majority (36 of the 42) CSOs' representatives across Sierra Leone, thought the money had been wisely expended. This is as well their individual view (reflecting the psychological level of analysis). However, the six (6) discussants who expressed a contrary view constitute a comparatively insignificant number that would not invalidate the conclusion that the media did influence CSOs' perceptions on the need to end impunity in Sierra Leone.

This conclusion is further bolstered by the fact that from the content (qualitative and quantitative) and discourse analyses and semi-structured interviews, FDP, ST and Awoko, appeared to have lent credence to the indictment, trial and conviction of Taylor. Inferentially, the above analysis does not seem to support the first aim and objective of the study, which seeks to establish whether the coverage of the Taylor trial amounted to 'a continuation of war by other means'. However, the second aim and objective of the study appears to be validated by the fact that the dynamics of the plethora of issues discussed in the frames and sub-frames in the analysis between 7.2.1 and 7.2.5, as triangulated with the responses of CSOs

representatives across Sierra Leone, are inextricably linked with discourses of good governance and democratic accountability.

Chapter Eight

Data Presentation and Analysis on the Media's Influence on Transitional Justice in Sierra Leone

8.0 Introduction

To further test the validity and reliability of the findings in both chapters six and seven, regarding CSOs' representatives' perceptions on post-conflict justice issues, the study was replicated across the country, with a comparatively broader sample size, to that of the group discussions. However, the issues concerning the sample size, data collection procedures (i.e. how the questionnaires were administered) and how the study was replicated, are clearly articulated in the methodological frameworks chapter (see analysis between 5.6 and 5.8).

This chapter, which is calculated to respond to the issue of drawing generalisations from the comparatively smaller sample size designed for the group discussions, critically analyses the findings relative to research question 5. The analysis here is divided into three sections. The first section presents the respondents' bio-data and the second and third sections examine the influences, which the media's coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials and the TRC, has had on elites' opinions to come up with credible generalisations, about the media's impacts on issues relative to post-conflict justice, war crimes jurisprudence, good governance and democratic accountability in Sierra Leone.

8.1 Section A: Respondents' Bio data

This section deals with the following issues:

- Occupational Distribution
- Sex Distribution
- Age Distribution

Table 11: Occupational Distribution

Occupation	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency(AF)	Relative Frequency (RF =%)
Barristers/Solicitors	0	0	13	0	13	4.74
Civil/Public Servants	33	23	44	22	122	44.53
Civil Society Activists	0	0	0	4	4	1.46
Clergy	0	0	0	2	2	0.73
Commercial Workers	9	4	7	24	44	16.06
Engineers	0	1	1	0	2	0.73
Journalists	0	0	1	4	5	1.82
Students	22	22	8	25	77	28.10
Military	1	0	4	0	5	1.82
Total	65	50	78	81	274	100

Table 11 depicts the occupational distribution of the respondents. The table clearly shows that the respondents were drawn from a large swathe of occupations ranging from the legal profession to the military. This clearly establishes the extent to which the occupational distribution of this national study is quite diverse to draw credible conclusions, regarding the views expressed by respondents coming from different socio-economic backgrounds. The table also depicts that the views expressed by particularly civil/public servants (44. 53%), students (28.10%) and commercial works (16.6%) far exceeded those expressed by barristers/solicitors (4.7%), CSOs activists (1. 46%), the clergy (0. 73%), engineers (0. 73%), journalists (1. 82%) and military personnel (1.82%).

Table 12: Sex Distribution

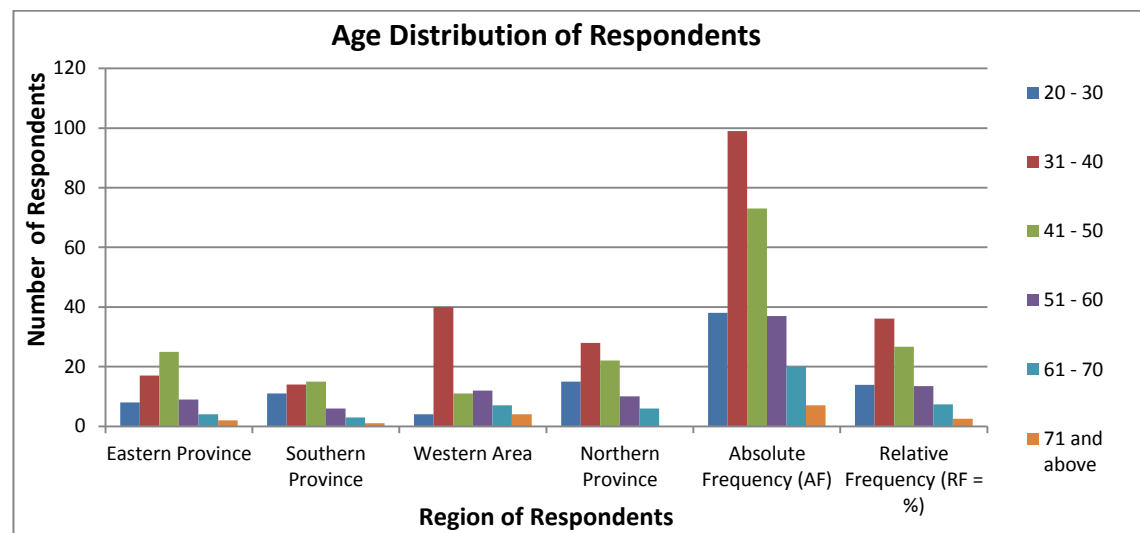
Sex	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
Male	50	40	66	44	200	72.99
Female	15	10	12	37	74	27.01
Total	65	50	78	81	274	100

Table 12 presents the sex distribution of the respondents. It is clear from the quantifications that the views of both sexes were elicited across the country. What is obvious, however, is that most of the views expressed by the respondents (73%) came from the male population; with only 27% coming from the female population. Regionally, the Northern Province is recorded as that which had the highest female responses comparatively to the other regions.

Table 13: Age Distribution

Age Distribution	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
20 - 30	8	11	4	15	38	13.87
31 - 40	17	14	40	28	99	36.13
41 - 50	25	15	11	22	73	26.64
51 - 60	9	6	12	10	37	13.50
61 - 70	4	3	7	6	20	7.30
71 and above	2	1	4	0	7	2.55
Total	65	50	78	81	274	100

Table 13 shows the age distribution of the respondents. The socio-economic, political and legal issues that emerged from the decade long conflict, which eventually led to the institutionalisation of the various post-conflict justice mechanisms that became the subjects of the media's coverage, would have been of much significance to Sierra Leoneans, who are above the 20-30 age brackets. This is simply because, those within the said age bracket, would not have felt the impacts of the war that led to the trial as those who are above that age bracket (31-40, 41-50, 51- 60, 61-70, 71 and above), and were in the position to furnish the researcher with informed data. That stated, to capture the views of all age brackets, even those in the age bracket (20-30) were targeted in order to gauge their responses in tandem with those in the upper age brackets (31 upward).

**Figure 11: Age Distribution of Respondents**

The above figure depicts the graphical representation of the respondents' age distribution.

8.2 Section B: Media Reporting of the CDF and Taylor Trials

Table 14: Respondents' Awareness of the Media's reporting of the CDF and Taylor Trials

Response	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
Yes	64	50	78	44	236	86.13
No	1	0	0	37	38	13.87
Total	65	50	78	81	274	100

Table 14 represents the respondents' awareness of the media's coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials. A significant proportion of the respondents (86.13% as against 13.87%) from all four regions indicated that they were quite aware about the media's reportage of both the CDF and Taylor trials. Regionally, the Western Area is recorded as the region that had the highest rate of awareness. This is comparatively followed by the Eastern, Southern and Northern Provinces, respectively. This high rate of awareness in the Western Area can be attributed to its cosmopolitan outlook and the fact that it is the hub of majority of the country's media outlets and the CDF trial, which attracted serious media attention than the Taylor trial, was conducted in the Western Area.

Table 15: Sources of Information about the Trials

Sources	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
Newspaper	19	12	24	11	66	19.13
Radio	52	36	69	73	230	66.67
Television	12	5	25	7	49	14.20
Total	83	53	118	91	345	100

Table 15 establishes how the respondents came to know about the trial. The vast majority (66.67%) became aware about the media's coverage of both trials through radio, but 19.13% and 14.20% got to know about the trials through newspapers and television respectively. This bolsters the fact that radio has been the most widespread and effective means of communication in Sierra Leone. However, given the reasons canvassed in 1.1 and 5.2 the study is based on newspapers coverage as a credible alternative to radio.

Table 16: Responses to Whether the Respondents Understood what the Media Reported about the CDF Trial

Response	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
Yes	62	49	76	68	255	93.07
No	3	1	2	13	19	6.93
Total	65	50	78	81	274	100

Table 16 establishes how the respondents understood the contents of the media's coverage of the CDF trial. A huge proportion (93.07% as against 6.93%) understood the contents which the media put out on the CDF trial. This therefore puts 255 of the 274 respondents in a better position to subject the media's coverage of the CDF trial into their own interpretations, which are gauged in table 9.

Table 17: Responses to Whether the Respondents Understood what the Media Reported about the Taylor Trial

Response	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
Yes	60	48	77	73	258	94.16
No	5	2	1	8	16	5.84
Total	65	50	78	81	274	100

Table 17 shows how the respondents understood the contents of the media's coverage of the Taylor trial. A significant proportion (94.16% as against 5.84%) understood the media's contents relative to the Taylor trial. This therefore puts 258 of the 274 respondents in a better position to subject the media's coverage of the Taylor trial into their own interpretations, which are gauged in table 10.

Table 18: Responses to Whether the Media's Coverage Provided Vital Information about the Trial of the CDF Leaders

Response	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
Yes	32	25	63	53	173	63.14
No	33	25	15	28	101	36.86
Total	65	50	78	81	274	100

Table 18 clearly depicts that most of the respondents (173 as against 101) indicated that the media supplied them with very vital information regarding the dynamics of the CDF trial. Regionally, the Western Area (63) and Northern Province (53) are recorded as the regions that most appreciated the media's coverage of the trial. However, the respondents from the Eastern

(33) and Southern (25) Provinces (the regions in which the CDF leaders were born, bred and shot into prominence) did not comparatively appreciate the media's coverage as those from the Western Area and the Northern Province. The reasons for these regional variations are accordingly catalogued in table 9.

Table 19: How the Media's Coverage of the CDF Trial Influenced Respondents' Opinions

Responses	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
Perceived the dual role played by the CDF- i.e. as villains and national heroes.	6	4	17	16	43	15.69
Got to know that they committed heinous crimes against the people of Sierra Leone, for which they were held to account by the SCSL	8	14	18	55	95	34.67
They were fighting for the restoration of democracy and the rule of law in Sierra Leone; hence they were national heroes	33	24	12	1	70	25.55
Enlightened me to appreciate that conflicts can best be resolved through dialogue not violence	4	3	12	5	24	8.76
The CDF leaders should not have been subjected to trial.	14	5	19	4	42	15.33
Total	65	50	78	81	274	100

Table 19 incisively analyses how the media's coverage of the CDF trial influenced the perceptions of the respondents. Nationally, the media's impact is felt by all the respondents, whose views are accordingly factored into the categories mentioned in the five columns mapped out in this tabular presentation. However, the responses indicated clear regional variations. Regarding the perception that the media's coverage influenced the respondents to consider the CDF leaders as villains, who committed heinous crimes for which they were criminally held liable by the SCSL, 55 of the 81 respondents from the North subscribed to this view. Again, all 10 discussants (CSOs' representatives) in the group discussions from the North (see 6.6) dubbed the CDF leaders as war criminals and villains (not national heroes). Interestingly, FDP's representation of the CDF leaders as war criminals and villains appeared to have dovetailed with the perceptions of all the discussants in the Northern group discussion and a significant proportion of the respondents from the region that turned in their questionnaires.

Conversely, most of the respondents from the South (24 + 5 = 29) and East (33 + 14 = 47) strongly expressed the views that the CDF leaders fought for the restoration of democracy and the rule of law and should therefore not have been subjected to war crimes trials. These same views were expressed by a very significant proportion of the discussants from the South-East (See 6.6). ST, which appeared to have taken a South-Eastern posture, reflected the perception that the CDF leaders were national heroes (not war criminals or villains). This is the same perception which the vast majority of the discussants and respondents from the South-East clearly exhibited in both the group discussions and questionnaires (see 6.6 and 8.2). However, as established in 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4, ethno-regional considerations were not spotted in the news selection, framing, priming and agenda setting strategies of Awoko. Thus, given the views expressed by the respondents in this analysis, it can be empirically argued that the media's coverage of the CDF trial impacted the perceptions of people from various backgrounds across Sierra Leone.

Table 20: How the Media's Coverage of the Taylor Trial Influenced Respondents' Opinions

Responses	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
That Charles Taylor had a serious stake in the S/L war	20	12	17	32	81	29.56
One should be mindful of his neighbours	4	2	7	6	19	6.93
That impunity is intolerable in modern times	14	4	19	12	49	17.88
Taylor master minded the whole war in Sierra Leone	13	6	12	4	35	12.77
That Taylor deserved the punishment meted out to him by the SCSL	14	26	23	27	90	32.85
Total	65	50	78	81	274	100

Table 20 shows how the media's coverage of the Taylor trial influenced the perceptions of the respondents at the national and regional levels. The views expressed above indicate the extent to which the media influenced Sierra Leoneans from all backgrounds, to appreciate the fact that Taylor was brought to justice for his role in the conflict that engulfed their country for ten years. This is the same view which the discussants expressed during the focus group discussions

conducted in all four regions (see 7. 6). Significantly, as established in 7.2, 7.3 and 7.4, the news selection, framing, priming and agenda-setting strategies of FDP, ST and Awoko, seemed to have dovetailed with the views elicited from the discussants of the focus group discussions and the questionnaires administered throughout Sierra Leone.

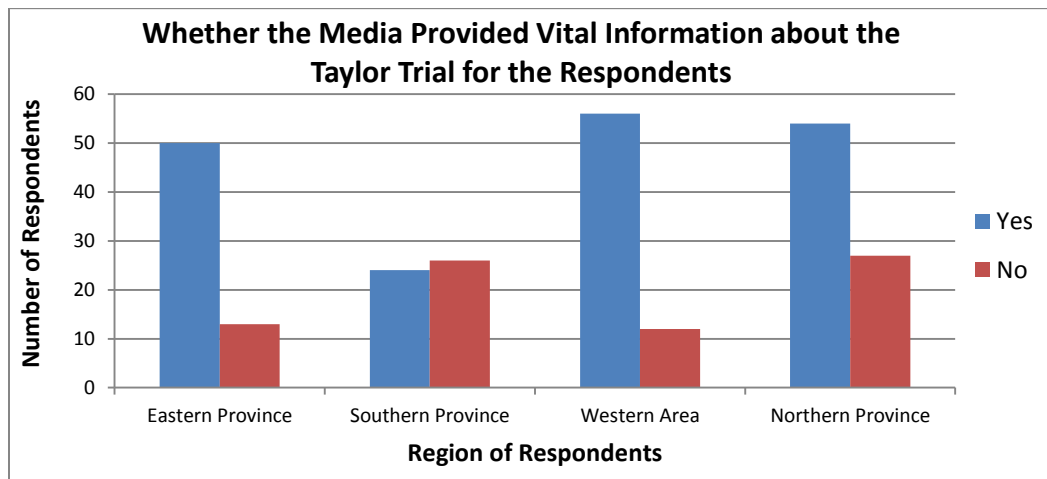


Figure 12: Distribution of whether the Media provided vital information for Respondents

To further validate the findings represented in table 9, the above figure depicts how the respondents appreciated the information, which the media disseminated in relation to the Taylor trial. Thus, 184 (51 + 24 + 55 + 54) of the respondents from all four regions stongly accepted the validity of the mediated contents which the media published during the conduct of the Taylor trial.

Table 21a: Responses about whether the Media's Coverage of the CDF Trial was balanced

Response	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
The reporting was biased against the CDF and in favour of the prosecution	17	17	19	2	55	49.11
Many Negative things were said about the CDF and ignoring the positive	16	12	5	2	35	31.25
The reporting was done mostly in English and in support of the SCSL	10	3	6	3	22	19.64
Total	43	32	30	7	112	100

Table 21a establishes whether the media's coverage of the CDF trial was biased against the CDF or in favour of the prosecution. Again, clear regional variations are spotted in the responses. A significant proportion (17 + 16 + 17 + 12 = 62) from the South-East said the media's coverage of the CDF trial was biased against the CDF and that most of what was reported, depicted the CDF negatively, regardless of the role which it played in the restoration of democracy and the rule of law in Sierra Leone. This is the position, which is discernible in the numerous pre-trial, trial and post-trial contents (see 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4) of FDP relative to the CDF trial. And that is the same view which clearly came out of the findings from the focus group discussions held in the South-East (see 6.6). However, it was only 4 respondents (a negligible figure) from the North that shared this typical South-East view. Hence, a significant proportion of the Northern respondents did not subscribe to the view that the media's coverage was biased against the CDF. For them, the coverage was balanced and did not favour the prosecution. This is the same view that permeated the Northern group discussion (see 6. 6).

Table 21b: Responses about whether the Media's Coverage of the Taylor Trial was balanced

Responses	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
The media reported very little about the claims of the defense counsel	1	0	7	3	11	18.33
Everything that was said was mostly in favour of the prosecution	4	1	9	5	19	31.67
The reportage was biased against Taylor	60	49	62	73	30	50.00
Total	65	50	78	81	60	100

Thus, the responses as catalogued above indicated that virtually all the respondents from all four regions had nothing to say, other than the media's coverage was biased against Taylor and that the prosecution's case was well represented in comparison to the defence's case. The responses that came up in the discourses that characterised the issue of whether the media's coverage of the Taylor trial was actually balanced, really dovetailed with the actual findings in table 20 above.

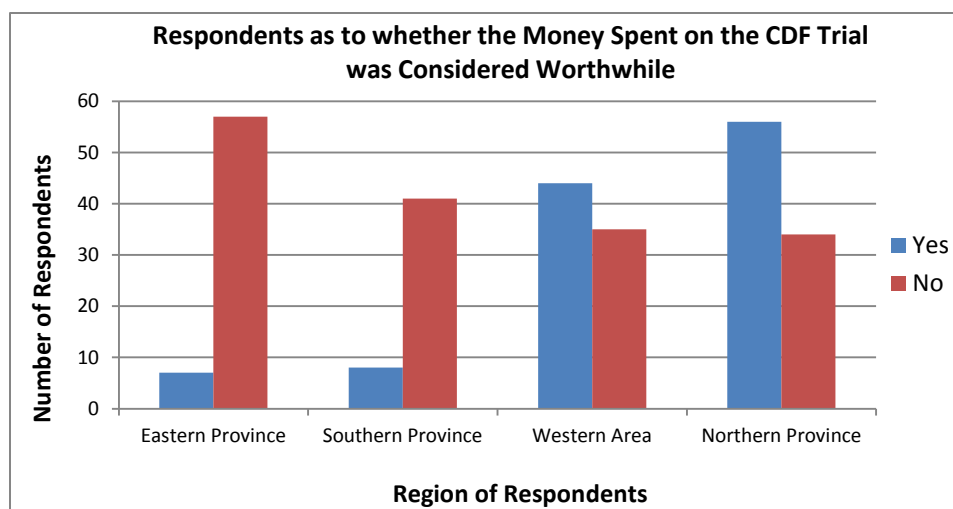


Figure 13: Response about whether the money spent on the CDF trial was worthwhile

The above figure shows the views expressed by the respondents on the issue of whether the moneys expended in the CDF trial were worth it. Thus, the reasons for their responses are accordingly stated in table 22.

Table 22: Responses about why money spent on the CDF Trial not considered worthwhile.

Responses	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
The money should have been used for developmental purposes in the country (post-conflict Reconstruction and Development)	23	15	15	7	63	37.97
The harm had already been done, so why not give the money to the war victims (Reparation for War Victims)	14	17	7	5	43	27.22
No much provision was made for the war victims (Reparation for War Victims)	13	8	5	2	11	17.72
There was no proper explanation on how the money was used (Lack of proper Accountability and Transparency)	7	2	7	11	34	17.09
Total	57	42	34	25	151	100

The findings from the contents and discourse analyses (see 6.2, 6.3 and 6.4) established the extent to which each of the papers supported or opposed the conduct of the CDF trial on the

basis of its ethno-regional leanings and considerations or for some other national concerns. The findings from the focus group discussions, concerning this same issue, were more clearly tainted with ethno-regional leanings and considerations. Thus, it is clear from table 12 that 99 (57 +42) of the 151 respondents that answered the questions concerning the moneys expended in the conduct of the CDF trial, came from the South-East; whereas 44 and 25 respectively came from the Western Area and the North.

And all the responses given to the questions relative to the moneys expended to end impunity and uphold the rule of law concerning the CDF trial (the judicial accountability paradigm), were skewed towards post-conflict reconciliation and development, reparation, and democratic accountability and transparency (the reconciliatory paradigm). Interestingly the vast majority of the respondents whose views are catalogued above (99) came from the South-East. Empirically, it is therefore clear from the table that most South-Easterners (99) as against a limited number of Northerners (25) felt the moneys expended in the conduct of the CDF trial should have been spent in promoting post-conflict reconciliation, reconstruction and development; and the victims' reparation schemes. Essentially, the said responses from majority of the Southerners would not have been devoid of their ethno-regional leanings and considerations.

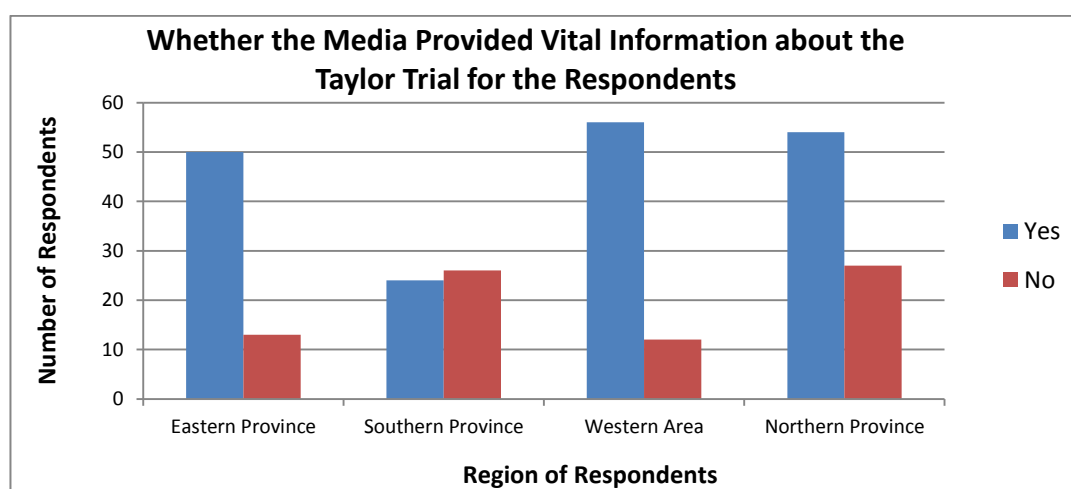


Figure 14: Responses about whether the money spent on the Taylor trial was worthwhile

The above figure shows the views expressed by the respondents on the issue of whether the money expended in the Taylor trial was worth it. Thus, the reasons for their responses are accordingly tabulated in table 13. However, the vast majority of the respondents from all four

regions (42 + 41+ 57+ 65= 205 out of 274) said that the moneys were well expended to end impunity and uphold the rule of law in Sierra Leone and beyond.

Table 23: Reasons why the Money Spent on the Taylor Trial not Considered Worthwhile

Responses	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
The money should have been used for developmental purposes in the country	9	8	12	4	36	45.57
Taylor did not deserve the nice treatment he received during the trial	2	0	3	1	11	13.92
No much provision was made for the war victims	3	1	4	3	11	13.92
The trial should have been conducted in S/L to save cost	5	0	2	0	9	11.39
There was no proper explanation of how the money was used	4	0	0	8	12	15.19
Total	23	9	21	16	79	100

Table 23 presents the reasons why the remaining 79 of the 274 respondents said the moneys spent to conduct the Taylor trial was not worthwhile. Essentially, an issue (the conduct of the Taylor trial in The Hague, as opposed to Freetown) which all three newspapers made salient in their reportage came up as one of the reasons why some of the respondents (9) said the moneys spent in the conduct of the trial was not considered worthwhile.

8.3 Section C: Respondents' Responses to the Media's Coverage of the TRC

Table 24 presents the media's impacts on the respondents regarding the operations of the TRC in Sierra Leone. The views expressed by all the 200 respondents, relative to the media's role in relation to the TRC's functionality, clearly depicted how the media's coverage influenced their perceptions, about the reconciliatory paradigm as one of the post-conflict justice mechanisms, adopted to resolve the conflict in Sierra Leone. Thus, the media preached the need for peace and reconciliation and thus actualised the philosophy of peace journalism enunciated in 3.1.5 and 3.4

Table 24: Things Learned from the TRC Hearing through the Media's Coverage

Responses	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
Media preached the need for peace and reconciliation	2	7	7	13	29	14.5
Media exposed the perpetrators of war crimes in Sierra Leone	10	10	9	24	53	26.5
Media got us to understand how the TRC taught us to forgive and forget	17	7	11	8	43	21.5
Media got us to understand the genesis of the war through the TRC	13	3	16	18	50	25
Diamonds were very crucial in the Sierra Leone war	1	0	0	2	3	1.5
For peace to prevail justice must be the working tool	4	8	4	6	22	11
Total	47	35	47	71	200	100

Table 25: Influences of the Media's Coverage of the TRC Proceedings on the Attitudes of Respondents towards the Justice System of Sierra Leone

Responses	Eastern Province	Southern Province	Western Area	Northern Province	Absolute Frequency (AF)	Relative Frequency (RF = %)
Media exposed through the TRC the weaknesses of the country's justice system, and how social and political injustices fuelled the war in Sierra Leone	10	16	11	7	44	36.97
Media got us to understand that the justice system of S/L did not protect the fundamental rights of Sierra Leoneans	4	9	12	7	32	26.89
Media prophesized how injustices, nepotism and corruption would lead to another war in Sierra Leone	12	8	12	11	43	36.13
Total	26	33	35	25	119	100

Essentially, the facts presented in table 25 about the media's role in relation to the TRC's functionality can as well be clearly interpreted within the contexts of the discourses in table 14 and the analysis that follows it. Thus, from the above analysis, it can be empirically argued that the media in Sierra Leone significantly impacted both the judicial accountability and

reconciliatory paradigms, which the country adopted to attain the ideals of post-conflict and war crimes justice.

And it can as well be argued that the media is also giving credence to the ideals of good governance and democratic accountability in Sierra Leone (the principle thrust of the study's second aim and objective). However, given its ethno-regional leanings and considerations in its coverage of particularly the CDF trial, even this chapter which merely replicated the whole study, points to how ethno-regional tendencies again impacted the respondents, who were certainly drawn from a broad spectrum and background of Sierra Leone. This lends credence to the conclusion regarding the first aim and objective of this study, that the media's reportage of the CDF (and not the Taylor) trial was 'a continuation of war by other means'.

Chapter Nine

Summary, Conclusion and Recommendations

9.1 Summary

The significance of this study is arguably justified by a critical analysis of its context (see chapter one) in the face of the literature review (see chapter two). Theoretically and empirically, the study seeks to contribute to the shared-body of knowledge on media and war crimes jurisprudence (see chapter two) by gauging the media's impacts of the coverage of the CDF and Taylor trials on the functionality of CSOs in promoting post-conflict justice and democratic legitimacy in Sierra Leone (see empirical analysis between chapters six and eight). The study conceptualises media, civil society and transitional justice to establish the significance of their theoretical synergy in a post-conflict context (see chapter three). The media's impact is gauged by contextualizing the stimulus-response paradigm in the behavioural sciences. Thus, media contents are rationalized as stimuli and the perceptions of CSOs' representatives on the media's coverage of the trials are deemed to be their responses (see chapter four).

The study adopts contents (framing) and discourse analyses and semi-structured interviews to analyse the contents which the selected media (For Di People, Standard Times and Awoko) published for consumption at the psychological and sociological levels in Sierra Leone (see chapter five). The responses to such contents are theoretically explained with the aid of the structured interpretative and post-modernistic response approaches to media contents (see chapter four). And, methodologically, CSOs' representatives' responses to the media's contents are elicited by ethnographic surveys (group discussions) conducted across the country (see chapter five). The findings from the contents and discourse analyses, semi-structured interviews and ethnographic surveys are triangulated to establish how the media's coverage of the two trials impacted CSOs' representatives' perceptions on post-conflict justice and democratic legitimacy in Sierra Leone.

To test the validity and reliability of the findings from the ethnographic surveys, four hundred (400) questionnaires, one hundred (100) for each of the four regions (East, South, North and Western Area) of Sierra Leone, were administered to barristers, civil/public servants, civil

society activists, media practitioners, students etc. (see chapter five). The findings, which reflected the perceptions of people from a large swathe of opinions in Sierra Leone, appeared to have dovetailed with those of the CSOs' representatives in the country (see chapter eight).

9.2 Conclusion

Essentially, it is discernible in the theoretical, methodological and empirical chapters (see analysis between 3.0 and 6.7) of this study that the local media's coverage of the CDF trial appeared to have been tainted with ethno-regional prejudices, and seemed to be 'a continuation of war by other means'. The mediation of the Taylor trial (see theoretical, methodological and empirical analysis between 3.0 and 7.7) however, appeared to have been devoid of ethno-regional prejudices, but seemed to have been coloured by lenses of patriotism and nationalism.

The media's reportage of both trials and the operations of the country's TRC, in the views of the CSOs' representatives and respondents in all the regions across Sierra Leone (see empirical analysis between 6.0 and 8.3), on balance had a positive impact on war crimes jurisprudence, transitional justice and democratic accountability and legitimacy in post-conflict Sierra Leone (see theoretical analysis between 3.0 and 3.5). The findings are therefore reflective of the significance of the media's functionality in post-conflict democratic Sierra Leone. It is further discernible in the literature review (see 2.1 and 2.2) that the limited body of epistemology on the mediation of war crimes jurisprudence and post-conflict transitional justice is still evolving. And the case for an emerging thesis (as established in 2.2) has been accordingly justified in the theoretical, methodological and empirical analyses found between chapters three and eight. The emerging thesis that the framing of the CDF trial was more influenced by ethno-regional prejudices and that of the Taylor trial by nationalism and patriotism is the principal finding of this theoretical and empirical study, which is calculated to advance the frontiers of knowledge in the evolving epistemology of media and war crimes jurisprudence.

Additionally, three distinctly different peripheral theses can also be inferred from this study. And they are tied to the theoretical synergy of the media, civil society and transitional justice in

the light of the methodological frameworks designed for the empirical analysis between chapters six and eight. The first thesis concerns the media relative to war crimes trials.

This thesis is anchored by the idea that media coverage of war crimes trials conducted in a multi-ethnic post-conflict country, can amount to 'a continuation of war by other means', when the dynamics of the forces that caused and fuelled the intra-state conflict, leading to the trials are purely internal. But when the intra-state conflict is fuelled by external actors, who are eventually subjected to war crimes trials, media coverage can hardly amount to 'a continuation of war by other means', because the media's news selection, framing, priming and agenda-setting inclinations, can be more influenced by patriotic and nationalistic ideals, as opposed to ethno-regional considerations.

The second thesis revolves around the conception of civil society in Africa. CSOs in a multi-ethnic conflictual state can be more united and effective in their clamour to bring an internecine conflict that threatens national security to an end, but they can be divided on ethno-regional lines in the post-conflict political and governance processes that will emerge in the hitherto conflictual state. The third thesis is on war crimes jurisprudence. It states that the statutory prosecutorial discretion given to prosecutors to indict those that bear the greatest responsibility for war crimes, can result in a form of selective justice that undermines the fight against impunity. Thus, war crimes jurisprudence can mitigate (not end) the scourge of impunity, but the indirect promotion of democratic accountability and good governance, can be its more achievable and durable long term ideals.

9.3 Recommendations

The final recommendations from the findings of this study can again be compartmentalised under the conceptual umbrella of the media, civil society and transitional justice.

9.3.1 The Media

The significant role of the media in the quest for post-conflict justice (prosecutorial and reconciliatory) and building good governance and democratic legitimacy in post-war Sierra Leone, can account for how the media can impact society within its functional theoretical

frameworks, encompassing the public service model, Galtung, Lynch and McGoldrick's peace journalism, Thompson's responsibility to report and Shaw's human rights journalism (see 3.1.5 and 3.4 for theoretical and conceptual frameworks and chapters six, seven and eight for empirical analysis).

The contraventions of Sierra Leone's media ethics and the widespread unprofessionalism that permeate journalistic practices in Sierra Leone, can account for how the mass manipulative/propaganda and commodification of news paradigms have given credence to the publications of hateful and divisive contents inimical to societal stability and national cohesion. This seems to have strengthened the ethno-regional divide that permeates Sierra Leone's body-politic and thus has the tendency to fuel renewed intra-state conflict in post-war Sierra Leone (see theoretical and conceptual analyses between 3.1.5 and 3.4 and chapters six, seven and eight for empirical analysis).

The influence of the above conflictual perspective in the practice of journalism in Sierra Leone can be mitigated by strengthening the instrumental approach that emphasizes the need for continuous media education and training, which is yet to visibly impact media performances in post-conflict Sierra Leone (see analyses between 3.1.5 and 3.4 for theoretical and conceptual frameworks and chapters six, seven and eight for empirical analysis). This can be done through the IMC, SLAJ and other national and international media stakeholders that have indulged in this exercise since the dawn of the socio-economic, political and legal transformations of Sierra Leone in 2001. The need for continuous media education and training is also seen in how the selected media appeared to have reported the CDF trial with ethno-regional and political considerations and how that seemed to have impacted the perceptions of CSOs' representatives in the country. Thus, the fundamental ideals of journalistic ethics and practice in Sierra Leone's Media Code of Practice (accuracy, balance, fairness etc.) appeared to have been violated by the selected media.

The training schemes should incorporate programs of specialized reporting including some sensitive issues relative to war crimes jurisprudence, which appeared to have been misrepresented, because the journalists that reported the two trials hadn't any background in

law. Education and training (the cognitive and behavioural side) should go hand in hand with effective media legislative and regulatory frameworks (the structural side) to curb irresponsible journalism and uphold the fundamental rights and liberties of the entire citizenry, while protecting the ideals of freedom of expression, access to information and the media's role in promoting post-conflict democratic legitimacy.

9.3.2 Civil Society

The role of CSOs in the clamour for post-conflict justice, good governance and democratic legitimacy in Sierra Leone, can account for the theoretical and empirical significance of the concept of civil society in Sierra Leone's body-politic. However, the fragmentation of CSOs on ethno-regional and political lines, has seriously undermined their efficacy in Sierra Leone's post-conflict democracy. Thus, for CSOs to continue to play their crucial role in the public sphere they must be apolitical and be prepared to shed off their partisan and ethno-regional and political prejudices in the interest of societal stability and national development (see 3.2 for theoretical and conceptual frameworks and chapters six, seven and eight for empirical analysis).

9.3.3 Transitional Justice

The institutionalisation of the SCSL after the signing of the LPA that legitimizes the reconciliatory model negatively impacted the work of the TRC, resulting in the exclusion of the testimonies of some key players in the conflict, including Norman, in all four (4) volumes of the TRC report. This has left an indelible void in the TRC's literature. Essentially, despite the trials and prosecutions of war criminals in Sierra Leone, the beast of impunity still raises its ugly head with the fetid wounds it has occasioned for the country's post-conflict justice system, leading to an alarming rate of violence and arm robbery. The failure to try and punish the foot-soldiers and middle level commanders; and the fact that the convicts were never tried under Sierra Leonean law (see Article 5); manifested the weaknesses of the distinct judicial accountability paradigm of Sierra Leone.

Though the war crimes trials have thus indirectly promoted democratic good governance ideals in Sierra Leone, there are issues of corruption, ineptitude and lack of proper accountability and transparency raised by the media and CSOs relative to the functionality of virtually all the non-

prosecutorial post-conflict justice institutions in Sierra Leone. This raises the questions of how effective the institutions are and the extent to which they have impacted the country's quest for post-conflict justice and democratic good governance. Thus, good governance ideals will only be realised when the country's democratic institutions are functional consonant with the ideals for which they are established. And the media and CSOs can play a positive role in that direction.

The trial of the CDF leaders heightens the ethno-regional divide in the country as reflected in the media's coverage and the perceptions of CSOs' representatives. This raises the question of who else will come forward to fight for the cause of 'peace' and 'democracy' in the future if they face the threat of being treated as war criminals. Thus, the dynamics of war crimes jurisprudence, which emerged as international responses to end impunity at a global stage, can hardly effectively address the ills of a multi-ethnic post-conflict society that is divided on ethno-regional lines.

The trial of Issa Sesay, whose preponderance co-operation bolstered the peace process in Sierra Leone, much against the aspirations of the upper echelons of the RUF, has sent a signal to potential war lords in the continent that neither 'blanket amnesty' provisions in peace accords, nor diplomatic utterances about their assured future will lure them into laying down their weapons and give peace a chance. In the Sierra Leonean context, this is arguably more imminent, given the post-conflict justice challenges with which the country is fraught and the fact that it was in Sierra Leone in which the 'unfulfilled diplomatic promises' were made.

Appendices

Appendix I: Bibliography:

Abdallah I (ed.) (2004) *Between Democracy and Terror: The Sierra Leone Civil War*, Dakar: Codesria: 1-9

— Abdallah, I, *Bush Path to Destruction: The Origin And Character of The Revolutionary United Front (RUF/SL)*: 41-63

Abdallah, I and Muana, P in Clapham (1998) (eds.) *African Guerrillas*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press, *The Revolutionary United Front: A Revolt of the Lumpenproletariat*: 185

Albrecht, Peter and Paul, Jackson (2009) *Security Systems Transformation in Sierra Leone, 1997-2007*, The Write Room Press.

Alder, John (2007) *Constitutional and Administrative Law*, Sixth Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010: 19-40

Alie, Joe A. D. (1994) *A New History of Sierra Leone*, Macmillan Publishers

Alie, Joe A. D. (2007) *Sierra Leone Since Independence-History of a Post-Colonial State*, Africa Future Publishers, C/O Mallam O. and J. Enterprises Ltd. 120 Kissy Road, Freetown, Sierra Leone: 251, 252

Alie, Joe A. D. *Reconciliation and Traditional Justice: Traditional-based. Practices of the Kpaa Mende in Sierra Leone*: 123-145, 251

Alozie, Emmanuel C in Thompson (2007) *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 55 Nkrumah Road, Kampala, Uganda. (Caplan, G.): *What Did They Say? African Media Coverage of the First 100 Days of the Rwanda Crisis*: 211-230

Altschull, J. Herbert (1990) *The Ideas behind American Journalism from Milton to McLuhan*, Longman, 95 Church Streets, Write Plains NY. 1060: 19-24

- Ammon, R. (2001) Global Television and the shaping of world politics: CNN, telediplomacy, and foreign policy. Jefferson, NC: McFarland: 117-118
- Ankomah, (2001) Is Coverage of Africa racist? And why are we ignoring the DRC crisis? Reporting the World Round Table Report, 16th May
- Axtmann, Roland. (2001), (ed.) Balancing Democracy, Continuum: The Tower Building, 11 York Road, London SE1 7NX 370 Lexington Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6503: 5
- Ayissi Anatole and POULTON Robin-Edward (2000) Bound to Cooperate: Conflict, Peace and People in Sierra Leone, United. Nations Publication, United. Nations Institute for Disarmament Research, Geneva, Switzerland ISBN 92-9045-137-8: 3
- Bangura, Yusuf in Abdallah, I (eds.) (2004) Between Democracy and Terror: The Sierra Leone Civil War, Dakar: Codesria. *The Political and Cultural Dynamics of the Sierra Leone War: A Critic Of Paul Richards*: 13-39
- Baran, Stanley J. (2002) Introduction to Mass Communication: Media Literacy and Culture, Second Edition, the McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc: 393, 405
- Baron, Robert A. Byrne, Donn and Branscombe, Nyla, R. (2007), Mastering Social Psychology, Pearson International Edition, Pearson Education Inc. ISBN 0-25-49589-3: 111
- Basedau M, Erdmann G and Mehler A. (2007) (eds.) Votes, Money and Violence Political Parties and Elections in Sub-Saharan Africa, University of Kwazulu, Natal Press
- Bell, Allan. (1991), The Language of News Media, (UK: Blackwell)
- Berelson, Bernard in Marris, P. and Thornham, S. (2002) ed. Media Studies, Second Edition, New York University Press, Washington Square, New York, NY 10003, *Content Analysis in Communication Research*: 200-209

- Bennett, Lance W. (1990) "Toward A Theory of Press-State Relations in The United. State", *Journal of Communication* 40 (2): 103-125
- Berewa, Solomon E. (2011) A New Perspective On Governance, Leadership, Conflict and Nation Building in Sierra Leone, Author House™ 1663 Liberty Drive, Bloomington, IN 47403: 105-115, 116, 140, 142, 180-182, 209-213
- Berger, Peter L. And Luckmann, Thomas (1966) The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise In The Sociology Of Knowledge, Anchor Books, a division of Random House, Inc., New York
- Berman, S. (1997), "Civil Society and Political Institutionalization" *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40, (5), 562-575
- Biagi, Shirley (2003) Media Impact: An Introduction to Mass Communication, Sixth Edition, Wadsworth/Thomason Learning, 10 Davis Drive, Belmont, CA 94002-3098, USA: 2, 303-308
- Biju-Duval, Jean-Marie in Thompson (2007) The Media and the Rwanda Genocide, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 55 Nkrumah Road, Kampala, Uganda. (Caplan, G.). "*Hate Media*" – *Crimes Against Humanity and Genocide: Opportunities Missed by the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda*: 343
- Birch, D., Fortune, P., Hirst, M. and Keane, A in Murphy, Peter and Stockdale (2002) Blackstone Criminal Practice. *Evidence (Part F)*: 1990-2011
- Bogaards, Matthijs (2000) in Basedau (2007) (eds.) Electoral Systems, Party Systems and Ethnicity in Africa: 168-193, 178
- Boyd, Andrew (1991) How To Handle Media Interviews, Mercury Books, Gold Arrow Publications Limited, 862 Garratt Lane, London SW17 0NB

Breakwell Glynis M, Hammond Sean and Fife-Schaw Chris (2004), (eds.) Research Methods in Psychology, Second Edition, SAGE Publications Ltd, 1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road, London EC1Y 1SP

— Breakwell, Glynis, M. Interviewing: 239

Broadcasting Policy And Practice In Africa, (2003): 1

Bryant, Jennings and Thompson Susan (2002) Fundamentals of Media Effects published. By McGraw-Hill Companies Inc: 18, 77, 82, 87-91, 92-93

Bundu, Abass (2001) Democracy by Force? A Study of International Military Intervention in the Conflict in Sierra Leone from 1999-2000, Universal Publishers/uPUBLISH. Com USA. 2001 ISBN: 1-58112-698-0: 51, 55, 59

Burns, James MacGregor, Peltason J. W., Cronin, Thomas E. and Magleby, David B. (2000) Government by the People, Eighteen Edition, Prentice Hall, Inc. Upper Saddle River, New Jersey 07458:128-129

Caffrey, Susan and Mundy, Gary (1996) (eds.) Crime, Deviance and Society: Selected. Debates, Greenwich University Press, Unit 42, Dartford Trade Park, Butterly Avenue, Dartford, Kent DA1 1JG, United. Kingdom

Cahn, Steven M. (2002) Classics of Political and Moral Philosophy, Oxford University Press, Inc. 198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York, 10016: 461-463

Campbell and Lewis (1999), Promoting Participation: Law or Politics, Publish by Cavendish Publishing Limited, the Glass House, Wharton Street, London WC1X9PX, United. Kingdom: 1

Cappella, J, N. & Jamieson, K, H. (1997), Spiral of Cynicism, *The press and the public good*, New York: Oxford University Press: 47 & 89

Carragee, K, M. and Roefs, W. (2004). The Neglect of Power in Recent Framing Research: Journal of Communication, Accessed 17th December, 2005: 54, 214-233

- Carruthers, Susan L. (2000) *The Media At War, Communication and Conflict in the Twentieth Century* Palgrave Macmillan Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10010: 50,198
- Chazan Naomi, Mortimer Robert, Ravenhill John and Rothchild Donald (1992) *Politics and Society in Contemporary Africa*, Second Edition, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc, 1800 30th Street, Boulder Colorado 80301: 74-79, 105, 106-116
- Chomskey, N. and Herman, E. (1988), *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon
- Clapham, C. (1998), (eds.). *African Guerrillas*, Bloomington: Indiana University Press
- Clark, Phil. And Kaufman, Zachary, D. (2009) (eds.) *After Genocide: Transitional Justice, Post-Conflict, Reconstruction and Reconciliation in Rwanda and Beyond*. Colombia University Press New York
- Clark, Phil. *Establishing A Conceptual Framework: Six Key Transitional Justice Themes*: 198-208
- Cohen, B, C (1963), *The press and foreign policy*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press
- Cohen, J. (1999), *Trust, Voluntary association and workable democracy, democracy and trust* Edited by Mark E. Warren. UK: Cambridge University Press,
- Cole, Bernadette (1995) *Mass Media Freed.om And Democracy In Sierra Leone*, Premier Publishing House, 47 Siaka Stevens Street, Freetown, Sierra Leone: 1-10, 11-12, 20-55
- Coleman, J, S, (1958), *Nigeria: Background to nationalism*, Los Angeles: University of California Press.
- Compaine Benjamin M, Sterling Christopher H, Guback Thomas and Noble. Jr. J. Kendrick (1982) *Who Owns the Media? Concentration of Ownership in the Mass Communications*

Industry. Second Edition Knowledge Industry Publications, Inc. 701 Westchester Ave, White Plains, NY 10604: 1

Constatinos, B T. (2001) *Civil Society in Africa: An Assessment and Strategic Perspective*, Vol. 1, Civil Society: A Theoretical Construct, The Foundation of Civil Society in Africa BTC: 2, 7

Craig, P, P. (2001), *Administrative Law*, Fourth Edition, Sweet & Maxwell Limited of 100 Avenue Road, Swiss Cottage, London NW3 3PF: 259

Crocker Chester A, Hampson Fen Osler and Aall Pamela (2003) *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, United. States Institute of Peace, 1200 17th Street NW, Washington, DC 20036: xvii

Croteau, David and Hoynes, William (2006) *The Business of Media*, Pine Forge Press, A Sage Publications Company, 2455 Teller Road, Thousand Oaks, California 91320: 7-9, 14, 22, 32

Cruvellier, T. (2004), *War Crimes Tribunals in Africa and Sleeping Press Watchdogs* – access on: www.nieman.harvard.edu/reportsitemprint.aspx

Curran, James and Gurevitch, Michael (2000) *Mass Media and Society*, Third Edition, Oxford University Press Inc. 198 Madison Avenue, New York. 10016.

Curran, James (2010) (ed.) *Media and Society*, Fifth Edition, Bloomsbury Academic, An Imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 36 Soho Square, London W1D 3QY, UK

Dahlgren, Peter, and Colin Sparks, (eds.) *Communications and Citizenship* (London; Routledge, 1991)

Dallaire, Romeo in Thompson (2007) *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 55 Nkrumah Road, Kampala, Uganda. (Caplan, G.), *The Media Dichotomy*: 12-19

- Davey, Graham. (2004), (ed.) Complete Psychology, Fakenham Photosetting, Fakenham, Norfolk. Printed in Dubai for Hodder & Stoughton Educational, a division of Hodder Headline plc. 338 Euston Road, London NW1 3BH: 16
- Dennis, Everett E. And Merrill, John C. (2002) Media Debates: Great Issues for the Digital Age, Third Edition, The Wadsworth group: 48, 108-113, 111
- Denzin, Norman K. (1989) Interpretive Interactionism: Applied. Social Research Methods Series, Volume 16, SAGE Publication Ltd, 28 Banner Street, London, CE1Y 8QE, England
- Derbyshire, J. Denis and Derbyshire Ian. (1993) World Political Systems: An Introduction To Comparative Government, R & W Chambers Ltd. Edinburgh New York Toronto: 232-238
- Deutsch, Morton (1973) The Resolution of Conflict: Constructive and Destructive Processes, Vail-Ballou Press, Inc., Binghamton, N.Y. United. States of America
- De Vreese, Claes H. (2005) News Framing Theory and Typology, Information Design Journal plus Document Design 13(1), 15-52, 51-62
- Dixon, Martin and McCorquodale, Robert (2003) International Law, Fourth Edition, Oxford University Press, Great Clarendon Street, Oxford ox2 6DP :578-580
- Dizard, Jr. Wilson (2000) Old Media New Media: Mass Communication in the Information Age, Third Edition, Longman, An Imprint Of Addison Wesley Longman, Inc: 1-5
- Donnelly, Jack (2003), Universal Human Rights in Theory & Practice, Second Edition, Cornell University Press: 7-17, 253
- Dworkin, Ronald. (2002), Sovereign Virtue: *The Theory and Practice of Equality*, Harvard University Press. Cambridge, Massachusetts London, England: 1-7
- Dye, Thomas R. (1996) Power and Society –An Introduction to the Social Sciences (7th ed.) Harcourt Brace and Company, 6277 Sea Harbor Drive, Orlando, Florida 32887-6777.:343, 344

- Ellis, Stephen. (2007), (Second Edition) *The Mask of Anarchy: The destruction of Liberia and the religious dimension of an African civil war* New York University Press New York: 1-29
- Ekwelie, S. A. (1978), Mass Media and National Development, In Kalu, Ogbu (ed.). *Readings in African Humanities*, Enugu; Fourth Dimension: 209-226
- Elone, Jeanne. (2010) Democracy and Society, Backlash Against Democracy: The Regulation of Civil Society in Africa. Vol. 7 Issue 2, A Publication of the Centre For Democracy and Civil Society Georgetown University: 3, 8
- Elshtain, J, B, (1997, Fall) "Not a cure all" *The Brookings Review*, 15 (4), 13-15
- Entman, Robert. M. (1993) Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured. Paradigm, *Journal of Communication* 43: 51-68
- Entman, Robert. M. (2007) Framing Bias: Media in the Distribution of Power, *Journal of communication* ISSN 0021-9916: 163-173
- Evans, Malcolm D. (2006) (Ed.), *International Law* (2 Ed.), Oxford University Press, Great Clarendon Street, Oxford OX 2 6DP (Cassese A) *International Criminal Law*: 720, 726-782,731-732
- Evanston, E. (2004), Truth and Justice in Sierra Leone: Coordination between Commission and Court, *Colombia Law Review*, 104: 3, pp. 730-767
- Fairclough, Norman in Marris, P. and Thornham, S. (2002) ed. *Media Studies*, Second Edition, New York University Press, Washington Square, New York, NY 10003, *Critical Analysis of Media Discourse*: 308-325
- Fletcher L E, and Weinstein H. (2002) Violence and Social Repair: Rethinking the contribution of Justice to Reconciliation, *Human Rights Quarterly* 24:3: 573-639

- Fowler, R. (1991) *Language in the News: Discourse and Ideology in the press*, London and New York: Routledge: 1-3, 4, 222
- Francis, David J. (2001) *The Politics of Economic Regionalism: Sierra Leone in ECOWAS*, Ashgate Publishing Ltd Gower House Croft Road Aldershot Hants GU11 3HR England: 107-120
- Freeman, M. D. A. (2001) *Lloyd's Introduction to Jurisprudence*, Seventh Edition, Sweet and Maxwell Limited. Of 100 Avenue Road, Swiss Cottage London NW 33 PF.:111-113,532-569: 111-113
- Futamura, Madoka. (2008) *War Crimes Tribunal and Transitional Justice: The Tokyo Trial and The Nuremberg Legacy* Routledge Taylor and Francis Group, 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN: 1, 2, 3, 4, 7, 21,25, 26, 47, 48, 49-69
- Galtung, J. and Ruge, M. (1965), *The Structure of Foreign News*, *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 2 No. 1: 64-91
- Galtung, J. and Vincent, R. C. (1992), *Global Gasnost: Toward a New World Informational and Communicational Order?* Cresskill New Jersey: Hampton Press: 141
- Gandy Jr., Oscar, H. (2001), "Epilogue" in Stephen Reese, Oscar H. Gandy, Jr., and August Grant, eds., *Framing Public Life*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum: 365
- Gberie, Lansana in Abdallah, I (eds.) (2004) *Between Democracy and Terror: The Sierra Leone Civil War*, Dakar: Codesria, *The 25 May Coup d'état in Sierra Leone: A Lumpen Revolt?* 53-60, 110, 145-171
- Gberie, Lansana (2005) *A Dirty War In West Africa: The RUF and The Destruction Of Sierra Leone*, C. Hurst & Co. (Publishers) Ltd, 41 Great Russell Street, London WC1B 3PL: 6, 70-96, 117-132, 154-155, 158-159, 199
- Giddens, A., Dundier, M. and Appelbaum, R. (2005) *Introduction to Sociology*, Fifth Edition, New York, WW Norton Company Inc: 20

- Gilboa, Eytan. (2005) *the CNN Effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relation Political Communication*, Taylor and Francis Group, 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon OX14 4RN 22:27-44
- Goldstein Joshua S. (2001): *International Relations*, fourth edition, Longman, London: 45, 333-337
- Gordon, Olu in Abdallah, I (eds.) (2004) *Between Democracy and Terror: The Sierra Leone Civil War*, Dakar: Codesria, *Civil Society against the State: The Independent Press and the AFRC-RUF*: 180, 182-187
- Gravetter Frederick J and Wallnau, Larry, B. (1999) *Essentials of Statistics For the Behavioral Sciences (Third Edition)* Brooks and Cole Publishing Company 511 Forest Lodge Road Pacific Grove, CA93950 USA: 3-4
- Gray, John. (1996) *Mill on Liberty (Second Edition)*, Routledge 11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE: 1-2
- Griffin, Em (2006) *A first Look at Communication Theory*, Six Edition, McGraw-Hill Inc. 1221 Avenue of the America New York, NY 10020: 395-406
- Gross, Richard. (2005), *Psychology The Science Of Mind And Behaviour*, Fifth Edition, Holder Arnold, a division of Hodder Headline plc. 338 Euston Road, London NW1 3BH: 150
- Gutierrez, Javier. (2012) *European Union Election Observation Mission Report-Sierra Leone* Bintumani Hotel, Block A, Fourth Floor, Freetown-Sierra Leone: 5-6
- Habermas, Jurgen. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere*, (Cambridge MIT Press, 1989), Thomas Burger and Frederick Lawrence, Trans, Original work published. 1962
- Habermas, Jurgen in Marris, P. and Thornham, S. (2002) ed. *Media Studies*, Second Edition, New York University Press, Washington Square, New York, NY 10003, *The Public Sphere*: 92

- Haralambos Michael, Holborn Martin and Heald Robin (2004) *Sociology Themes and Perspectives* Sixth Edition, published, By HarperCollins Publishers Limited. 77-88 Fulham Palace Road, Hammersmith, London W6 8JB: 182, 841, 843-861
- Harris, D.J. (2004) *Cases And Materials on International Law*, Sixth Edition, Sweet and Maxwell Limited. 100 Avenue Road, London NW3 3PF: 953-956
- Hart, H. L. A. (1994), *The Concept of Law*, Second Edition, Clarendon Law Series, Oxford University Press, Great Clarendon Street, Oxford ox2 6DP :157-160
- Hayner, Pricilla. (2007) *Negotiating Peace in Liberia: Preserving the Possibility of Justice*. The Report Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue
- Haynes, Jeffrey (2005), *Comparative Politics in a Globalising World*, Polity Press, 65 Bridge Street, Cambridge CB2 1UR, UK: 22-23
- Hayward, F. M. and Kandeh, J. (1987) *Elections in independent Africa*, Bulder, ND, London: Westview Press: 47
- Herring, Jonathan. (2005), *Criminal Law*, Fourth Edition, Palgrave Macmillan, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10010: 31-32, 40
- Hillier, Timothy (1999) *Principles of Public International Law*, Second Edition, Cavendish Publishing Limited. The Glass House Wharton Street, London Wc1x9px, UK: 272-285
- Hilsum, Lindsey in Thompson (2007) *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 55 Nkrumah Road, Kampala, Uganda, *Reporting Rwanda: the Media and the Aid Agencies*: 167-187

Himelboim, I. and Limor, Y. (2008) Media Perception of Freedom of the Press: A Comparative International Analysis of 242 Codes of Ethics”, Journalism, Vol. 9, No. 3 London: 235

Hirsh, David (2003) Law Against Genocide: Cosmopolitan Trials: xiii

Hirsch, John L. (2001) Sierra Leone: Diamonds and the Struggle for Democracy, Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc. 1800 30th Street, Boulder, Colorado 80301: 13-71, 24-25, 31, 35, 52, 71-75, 80-82, 87, 88-90, 96

Hojjer, B. (2004) “The Discourse of Global Compassion: The Audience and Media Reporting of Humanitarian Suffering”. Media, Culture and Society, July 26: 313- 513-531

Holbrooke, Richard. (1999), No Media-No War Index on Censorship 28(3): 20-21

Hopkinson, N (1993) “The Media and International Affairs After The Cold War” (Wilton Park Paper 74). London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office: 11

Howard, R. (2004) Conflict Sensitive Journalism, International Media Support and Institute for Media Policy and Civil Society

Huyse Luc and Salter Mark (Ed.) (2008) *Traditional Justice and Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: Learning from African Experiences*, International IDEA SE-103 34 Stockholm Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)

Iyengar, Shanto. (1991), Is Anyone Responsible? *How Television Frames Political Issues*, Chicago, IL; University of Chicago Press: 136-137

Iyengar, Shanto in Curran, James (2010) (ed.) Media and Society, Fifth Edition, Bloomsbury Academic, An Imprint of Bloomsbury Publishing Plc, 36 Soho Square, London W1D 3QY, UK, The state of a media-effects research: 273-289

Jabati, Sulaiman in Kamara (2013) The Impact Of The Special Court Trials On The People Of Sierra Leone And Liberia (Rapporteur’s Report on *The Seminar Organised by The Mass Communications Department of Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone and The*

Centre for International Media Analysis, Research and Consultancy, University of Bedfordshire, United Kingdom), The Impact of the Special Court Trials on Civil Society

Jamieson, Kathleen Hall and Waldman, Paul (2003) *The Press Effect: Politicians, Journalist, and the Stories That Shape the Political World*, Oxford University Press, Inc. 198 Madison Avenue, New York, New York 10016: xii, xiii

Jefferson, Michael (2003) *Criminal Law*, Sixth Edition, Pearson Education Limited, Edinburgh Gate, Harlow, Essex CM20 2JE England

Jenkins, Henry and Thorburn, David (2003) *Democracy and New Media*, The MIT Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts London, England: 5-11

Jones, W. S. Marcus (1988) *Legal Development And Constitutional Change In Sierra Leone (1787 – 1971)*, Arthur H. Stockwell Ltd. Elms Court Ilfracombe Devon, Great Britain, ISBN 0 7223 2210-0

Kabanda, Marcel. Kangura in Thompson (2007) *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 55 Nkrumah Road, Kampala, Uganda, *The Triumph of Propaganda Redefined*: 62-89

Kabbah, Ahmad Tejan (2010) *Coming Back From The Brink In Sierra Leone*, EPP Books Services, P. O. Box TF490, Trade Fair, La-Accra Ghana: 57, 69-74, 84-86, 105, 169-170, 185-189, 329-331

Kaczorowska Alina. (2003) (2Ed.), *Public International Law*, Old Bailey Press, Holborn College, Woolwich Road, Charlton, London SE7 8LN: 454-470, 493, 495-499, 501-503,

Kagwi-Ndungu, Charity in Thompson (2007) *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 55 Nkrumah Road, Kampala, Uganda, *The Challenges in Prosecuting Print Media for Incitement to Genocide*: 337

Kamara, Joseph. (March 13, 2013), *The Impact Of The Special Court Trials On The People Of Sierra Leone And Liberia* (Rapporteur's Report on *The Seminar Organised by The Mass*

Communications Department of Fourah Bay College, University of Sierra Leone and The Centre for International Media Analysis, Research and Consultancy, University of Bedfordshire, United Kingdom)

Kandeh, J. D. (1992), Sierra Leone Contradictory Class Functionality of the “Soft” State, *Review of African Political Economy*, 55, November: 81-99

Kandeh, Jimmy D in Abdallah, I (eds.) (2004) Between Democracy and Terror: The Sierra Leone Civil War. *In Search of Legitimacy: 1996 Elections*:123-143, 177

Kargbo, Abu Bakarr Hassan (2010) Governance Processes in Sierra Leone From 1799-2009, The Write Room Press, Burnaby BC, Canada: 120, 122-123

..... (2011) Post-Conflict Governance in Sierra Leone, The Write Room Press, Burnaby BC, Canada: 105-115, 111-114, 123-125, 190-220, 201-205, 209, 212-218

Kargbo, M. S. (2006) British Foreign policy and the Conflict in Sierra Leone: the Labour years, 1997-2002, Oxford University Press

Kegley, Jr. Charles W. (2007): World Politics Trend and Transformation, Eleven Edition, Thompson and Wadsworth, Thompson Higher Education, 10 Dave Belmont, CA 94002-3098, USA: 237, 249-554

Kerr, R. and Lincoln, J. (2008), The Special Court for Sierra Leone: Outreach, Legacy and impact, final report, King’s College < University of London, London: 14

Khan Mazharul Haque (1998) Political Theory: Theory And Practice, Enverul Haq Khan, for Bookland, 17 Urdu Bazar, Lahore: 423-424

Kimani, Mary in Thompson (2007) The Media and the Rwanda Genocide, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 55 Nkrumah Road, Kampala, Uganda, *RTLM: The Medium that Became a Tool for Mass Murder*: 110-135

- King, Nathaniel. (December, 2013) Citizens' Perceptions of Sierra Leone's Ethno-Political Divide and Diversity Management National Commission for Democracy
- Kiousis, Spiro (2004) "Explicating Media Salience: *A Factor Analysis of New York Times* issue coverage during the 2000 U.S presidential election ", *Journal of Communication* 54, pp. 71-87.
- Kirgis, Jr. Frederic L. (1991) *International Organizations in Their Legal Setting: Selected Documents*, West Publishing Co. 610 Opperman Drive, P.O. Box 64526S St. Paul, MN 55164-0526: 32
- Lang, L. (2005), *The Special Court for Sierra Leone: the Media coverage of Charles Taylor*. Access on, www.ocf.berkeley.edu/: 1, 2, 3, 4, 7
- L'Harmattan (1993) *Radio Pluralism In West Africa: A Survey Conducted. By The Panos Institute Paris and The West Africa Union of Journalists*, Institut Panos, 53, rue de Turbigo, 75003 Paris (Translations by Ms Senghor Lena): 120-122, 124
- Lichtenberg, Judith in Curran, J. and Gurevitch, M. (2000) *Mass Media and Society*, Third Edition, Oxford University Press Inc. 198 Madison Avenue, New York. 10016, In *Defence of Objectivity Revisited*: 236-254
- Lindlof, R. (1988) "Media Audiences as Interpretive Communities," in *Communication Yearbook* 11, ed. Anderson, J. A. (Newbury Park, Calif.: Sage): 81-107
- Littlejohn, Stephen W. (1992) *Theory of Human Communication*, Fourth Edition, Wadsworth Publishing Company, Belmont, California 94002 A Division of Wadsworth: 190, 232-234, 350
- Lull, James. (1980) "The Social Uses of Television," *Human Communication Research* 6: 197-209
- Lynch, J. and McGoldrick, A. (2005), *Peace Journalism*, Stroud; Hawthorn Press, Lye, A. (28 February 2010) Sunday Blog Western Telegraph (imported from Blog Module): 5

- Macauley, Marcella in Zack-Williams (2012) *When the State Fails*, Pluto Press, 345 Archway Road, London N6 5AA, *International Actors and Democracy Promotion in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone: Time for Stock-Taking*: 31-64
- Makumbe, J, W, (1998, April) Africa's Civil Society, *International Affairs*, 74(2): 305-317
- Margarrell, L, and Wesley, Joya. (2008) *Learning from Greensboro: Truth and Reconciliation in the United States*, University of Pennsylvania Press, 304pp, ISBN: 9780812241105 – in the Journal: *The International Journal of Transitional Justice*, Vol. 4, 2010: 130-147
- Markovic P and Subasic K. (2011), (Ed.) *The Case of Vukovar: A Comparative Analysis of Reports on Trails for War Crimes Committed. in Vukovar in 1991 in The Hague and Belgrade in Media and National Ideologies : Analysis of Reporting on War Crimes Trials in the former Yugoslavia*, eds. Volcic, Z, and Dzihana, A., Sarajevo Media Centre: 8-13, 15, 24, 79-117
- Margarrell, Lisa and Wesley, Joya (2008) *Learning from Greensboro: Truth and Reconciliation in the United States* University of Pennsylvania Press: 304
- Marris Paul and Thornham Sue (2002) ed. *Media Studies, Second Edition*, New York University Press, Washington Square, New York, NY 10003
- Martin, G. Neil, Carlson. Neil R. and Buskist, William. (2007), Pearson Education Limited, Edinburgh Gate Harlow Essex CM20 2JE, England: 266-268
- Martín-Barbero Jesús (1993) *Communication, Culture And Hegemony: From the Media to Mediations*, SAGE Publications Ltd. 6 Bonhill Street, London EC2A 4PU: 63
- Mautner G. (2008) 'Analysing Newspapers, Magazines and Other Print Media' in Wodak R. and Krzyzanowski M. (Eds) *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences* NY, Palgrave Macmillan: 2, 33, 37, 38, 39, 48

- M'Bayo Ritchard Tamba, Onwumechili Chuka and Nwanko Nwafo R (Ed.) (2000) *Press and Politics in Africa*, The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd. Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales, United Kingdom SA48 8LT: 124
- McCall, Robert B. (1998) *Fundamental Statistics for Behavioral Sciences* (Seventh Edition) Brooks/Cole Publishing Company, A Division of International Thomson Publishing Inc. 511 Forest Lodge Road, Pacific Grove, CA 93950 USA: 303, 311-330
- McCombs, Maxwell (2004) *Setting the Agenda: the mass media and public opinion*, Cambridge, Polity
- McCombs Maxwell. (2005) A Look at Agenda-Setting: Past, Present and Future: *Journalism Studies*, Volume 6 Number. 4: 543-557
- McCombs, M.E., and Shaw, D. (1972) The agenda-setting function of the mass media, *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 69: 813-824
- McCombs, M. F., Llamas, J. P., Lopez-Escobar, F., and Rey, F. (1997) Candidate images in Spanish elections: Second-level agenda-setting effect, *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 74, 131-166, 703-717
- McIntyre, Lisa, J. (2002). *The Practical Skeptic, Core Concepts in Sociology*, McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc. Printed in the United State of America: 87
- McQuail, Denis. (1983), *Mass Communication theory: An introduction*. Beverly Hills, CA: Sage Publications: 162-186
- McQuail Denis. (2000) *Mass Communication Theory*, Fourth Edition, SAGE Publications Ltd. 6 Bonhill Street, London EC2A 4PU: 171, 181, 343-345
- McQuail Denis. (2002) *Mass Communication Theory*, SAGE Publications Ltd. 6 Bonhill Street, London: 274, 277-284

- McQuail Denis. (2005) *Mass Communication Theory*, SAGE Publications Ltd. 6 Bonhill Street, London:
- Megenta, Abiye T. (2011) *Can it tweet its way to democracy? The promise of participatory media in Africa*, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford: 3-6
- Mehler, A in Basedau. *Political Parties and Violence in Africa: Systematic Reflections against Empirical Background*: 104-220
- Merwe, Hugo, Van Der and Weinstein, Harvey, N. (March, 2010). *The International Journal of Transitional Justice* Vol. 4 Issue 1: 1-3
- Mitchell, Malcolm G. (1979), *Propaganda, Polls and Public Opinion: Are the People Manipulation?* Second Edition, Prentice-Hall Inc. England Cliffs, NJ: 70-71
- Monasebian, Simone in Thompson (2007) *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 55 Nkrumah Road, Kampala, Uganda, *The Pre-Genocide Case Against Radio-Television Libre des Milles Collines*: 308-329
- Mott, Julian and Leeming, Ann. (2009), *Information and Communications Technology for A₂*, Printed in Great Britain for Hodder Stoughton Educational, a division of Hodder Headline, 338 Euston Road, London NW1 3BH by J. W. Arrow-smith, Bristol: 184
- Murdock, Graham. "Citizens, Consumers, and Public Culture." Pp 17-41 in M, Skovmand and K, C, Schroder, eds., *Media Cultures: Reappraising Transnational Media* (London/New York: Routledge, 1992): 17-41
- Murphy, Peter and Stockdale, Eric (2002) *Blackstone Criminal Practice*, Oxford University Press Inc New York:
- Musah Abdel-Fatau and 'Kayode Fayemi' (2000) *Mercenaries: An African Security Dilemma*, Pluto Press, 345 Archway Road, London N6 5AA and 22883 Quicksilver Drive, Sterling, VA 20166-2012, USA: 86

- Newman, Nic (2011) Main stream media and the distribution of news in the age of social discovery: How social media are changing the production, distribution and discovery of news and further disrupting the business models of main stream media companies, Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford: 5, 6-7
- Nwokeafor, Cosmas Uche in M'Bayo, R. T., Onwumechili, C and Nwanko, N. R. (Ed.) (2000) Press and Politics in Africa, The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd. Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales, United. Kingdom SA48 8LT: 124, *Pan African News Agency: Conduit to Africa Press and Political System*: 89-183
- Okigbo, in M'Bayo, R. T., Onwumechili, C and Nwanko, N. R. (Ed.) (2000) Press and Politics in Africa, The Edwin Mellen Press, Ltd. Lampeter, Ceredigion, Wales, United. Kingdom SA48 8LT: 124, *Media, Civil Society and Politics in Africa*: 63-65, 64-65, 75, 78
- Owen D, (1996) A clinician caution: Rhetoric and reality. In K. Cahill (Ed.), *Preventive diplomacy: Stopping wars before they start*: (305-317), New York: Basic Books.
- Pan, Z. and Kosicki, G. (2003), Framing Analysis: an Approach to News Discourse. *Political Communication*, 10: 55-57
- Patel Ana Cutter, De Greiff Pablo and Waldorf Lars (2009) (eds.) Disarming The Past: Transitional Justice and Ex-combatants, International Center For Transitional Justice, Social Science Research Council, New York
- Patterson Thomas E. (2006) We the People: A Concise Introduction to American Politics, Sixth Edition, McGraw-Hill, Inc. 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York NY 10020: 347
- Pember, Don, R. (2003/2004 Edition) Mass Media Law McGraw-Hill Companies Inc., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY, 10020: 64-71
- Penfold Peter (2012) Atrocities, Diamonds and Diplomacy: The Inside Story of the Conflicts in Sierra Leone, Pen & Sword Books Ltd, 47 Church Street, Barnsley, South Yorkshire S70 2AS: 5, 14, 25, 54-60, 120, 149, 174-188, 187,190-197

- Plessis Max du (2010) *The International Criminal Court that Africa wants*, Institute for Security Studies, P O Box 1787, Brooklyn Square 0075, Pretoria, South Africa: 13-14
- Powell, Russell, A., Symaluket, Diane, G., and MacDonald, Suzanne, E. (2005) *Introduction To Learning And Behavior*, Wadsworth, a division of Thomson Learning, Inc. United State of America : 1-5
- Pridmore, Geoff. (2000), *Teach Yourself Journalism*, UK Hodder Headline Plc. 33 Euston Road, London, NW1 3BH: 16
- Randall, Vicky in Basedau et al. *Political Parties in Africa and the Representation of Social Groups*: 82-103, 92
- Rashid, Ismail in Abdallah, I (eds.) (2004) *Between Democracy and Terror: The Sierra Leone Civil War. Student Radicals, Lumpen Youth, and the Origins of Revolutionary Groups in Sierra Leone, 1977-1996*: 67-89
- Rehman Javaid (2003) *International Human Right: A Practical Approach*, Pearson Education Limited. Edinburgh Gate Harlow Essex CM20 2JE England
- Richardson J. E. (2007) *Analysing Newspapers: An Approach from Critical Discourse Analysis*. Basingstoke and NY: Palgrave Macmillan
- Roberts Adam and Richard Guelff (2000) *Documents on the Laws of War*, Third Edition, Oxford University Press Inc New York
- Robinson Piers (2001) *Theorising the influence of media on world politics: model of media influence on foreign policy*. *European Journal of Communication*, SAGE Productions, London, Thousand Oaks, CA and New Delhi, Vol. 16: 4: 523-544
- Roshier, Bob in Caffrey, Mundy (1996) (eds.). *Foundations: Beccaria and the Basis of Classicism*: 31-32

- Rourke John T. (2007), *International Politics on the World Stage*, Eleven Edition, McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020: 289
- Ryan, Stephen in White, B., Little, R. and Smith, M. (1997) (eds.) *Issues in World Politics*, Macmillan Press Ltd Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and London, *Nationalism and Ethnic Conflict*. 9, 157-174, 187
- Sachs, Jeffrey. (2005), *The End of Poverty, How We Can Make it Happen in Our Lifetime*, Penguin Books Ltd. 80 Strand, London WC2R 0RI, England: 207
- Salamon Lester M, Anheier Helmut K, List Regina, Toepler Stefan, Sokolowski S. Wojciech and Associates (1999) *Global Civil Society: Dimensions of the Nonprofit Sector*, Center for Civil Society Studies, Institute for Policy Studies, The Johns Hopkins University, 3400 N. Charles Street, Baltimore, MD 21218-2688, USA :3-8
- Schaefer Richard T (2003) *Sociology*, Eight Edition McGraw Hill Companies Inc. 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020: 159
- Scheufele D. A. (2000) *Agenda-Setting, Priming and Framing Revisited.: Another Look at cognitive Effects of Political Communication*, *Mass Communication and Society* 392 and 3: 12-14, 297-316, 305-308, 309
- Schudson M. (1996). *The Power of News*, Cambridge, Mass, Harvard University Press: 204
- Severin Werner J. and Tankard James W. JR. (2001) *Communication Theories: Origin, Methods, and Uses in the Mass Media*, Published, by Addison Wesley Longman, Inc: 93, 85, 88, 101-102, 219-225, 226, 262-277
- Sharansky Natan, (2006) *The Case for Democracy: The Power of Freedom Over Tyranny and Terror*, Balfour Books, A Division of New Leaf Publishing Group, PO box 726Green Forest, AR 72638

- Shaw Ibrahim S. (2007) Historical frames and the politics humanitarian intervention: From Ethiopia, Somalia to Rwanda, Globalisation, Societies and Education, Vol. 5, No. 3, November: 351-371
- (2009) the 'us only' and 'us + them' frames in reporting the Sierra Leone war: Implications for Peace Journalism and Global Justice; the International Journal of Communications Ethics. Abramis Academic, ASK House, Northgate Avenue, Bury St. Edwards, Suffolk, IP32 6BB, UK:39-47
- (2012) Human Rights Journalism: Advances in Reporting Distant Humanitarian Interventions, Palgrave Macmillan St. Martin's Press LLC, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010: 11-34, 105-121
- Shaw Malcolm N. (2003) International Law, Fifth Edition, Cambridge University Press: 104-108, 210-212, 252, 1145, 1054-1079
- Silverman J,(2012) Crime, Policy And The Media :The Shaping of Criminal Justice, 1989-2010 Routledge 2 Park Square, Milton Park, Abingdon, Oxon, OX14 4RN: 5
- Sleh, Aaron, C., Toe Samuel, G. and Weah, Aaron, B. (2008). Impunity under Attack: The Evolution and Imperatives of the Liberian Truth Commission Civic Initiatives Monrovia, Liberia, 2008
- Smith Ron F. (2008) Ethics in Journalism Sixth Edition, Blackwell Publishing, 350 Main Street, Malden, MA 02148 5020, USA: 10, 34-41, 47-53
- Somerville, Keith. (Revised. manuscript submitted. 2 March 2010)A MIGS Occasional Paper, Kenya: Violence, hate speech and vernacular radio, Lecturer in Journalism, BA (Honours)Journalism Convenor, Brunel University, London (Keith.Somerville@brunel.ac.uk): 1-2
- Steinberg, Jonny. (2011, January), African Affairs: The Journal of The Royal African Society, Vol. 110 No. 435, Published Quarterly for the African Society by The Oxford University

Press ISSN 0001-1909: *A Truth Commission Goes Abroad: Liberian Transitional Justice In New York*: 35, 40-42, 50-52, 53

Stephens Mitchell (1997) *A History Of News*, Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 6277 Sea Harbor Drive, Orlando, Florida, 32887-6777. USA: 1

Straubhaar Joseph and LaRose Robert (1996) Wadsworth Publishing Company, A Division of International Thomson Publishing Inc: xviii, 29-30, 31, 37,196

Strauss Steven D. (2002) *The Complete Ediot's Guide to World Conflicts*, A Pearson Education Company, International Standard Book Number: 0-02-864366-6: 93, 179-188, 185

Stuart, Hall in Cohen, S. and Young, J. (1973), (eds.) *The Manufacture of News: Social Problems, Deviance and Mass Media*, (UK: Constable): *The Determinations of News Photographs*

Stuart, Hall in Marris, P. and Thornham, S. (2002) (eds.) *Media Studies*, Second Edition, New York University Press, Washington Square, New York, NY 10003, *Racist Ideologies and the Media*: 271-282

Tankard, J. W. (2001), *The empirical approach to the study of media framing*. In S. D. Reese, O. H. Gandy & A. E. Grant (eds.) *Framing Public life*, Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum: 95-106

Taylor Philip M (1995) *Munitions of the Mind: A History of Propaganda from the Ancient World to the Present Day*, Manchester University Press, United. Kingdom

Thompson, Allan (2007) *The Media and the Rwanda Genocide*, Fountain Publishers Ltd, 55 Nkrumah Road, Kampala, Uganda. (Caplan, G.) *Rwanda: Walking the Road to Genocide*: 20-37, 349, 433-444

Thompson Bankole (1999). *The Criminal Law of Sierra Leone*, University Press of America, Inc.4720 Boston Way, Lanham, Maryland 20706: 25-29

- Treadwell Donald (2011) *Introducing Communication Research*, SAGE Publication Ltd. 1 Oliver's Yard, 55 City Road London EC1Y 1SP United. Kingdom: 7, 14, 164-166, 167, 177, 179-180
- Tumber H. (2008) 'Journalists, War Crimes and International Justice' in *Media War and Conflict* Dec. 2008 1: 261-9
- Van Dijk T. A. (1995) 'Power and the New Media' in. Paletz D. (Ed.) *Political Communication and Action*, pp. 9-36. Cresskill NJ: Hampton Press
- Van Dijk T. A. (1988) *News as Discourse*, Hove/London: Lawrence Erlbaum: 241
- Venn, Oladipo, H. B. (1986) *Essentials of Government*. Evans Brothers Limited 2A Portman Mansions, Chiltern Street, London W1U 6NR: 62-63
- Vinck Patrick, Pham Phuong and Kreutzer Tino (June 2011), *Talking Peace: A Population-Based. Survey on Attitudes about Security, Dispute Resolution, and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Liberia* Human Rights Center University of California, Berkeley – School of Law: 47
- Waldorf, Lars in Patel Ann Cutter, De Greiff Pablo and Waldorf Lars (2009) (eds.) *Disarming The Past: Transitional Justice and Ex-combatants*, International Center For Transitional Justice, Social Science Research Council, New York, *Linking DDR and Transitional Justice*: 15-25, 22
- Walgrave S. and Van Aelst P. (2006) *The Contingency of the Mass Media's Political Agenda Setting Power: Toward A Preliminary Theory*, *Journal of Communications* 56, International Communication Association: 88-105, 109.
- Warburton, Nigel. (1999). *Philosophy The Classics*, 11 New Fetter Lane, London EC4P 4EE: 131

- Watson James (2003) *Media Communication: An Introduction to Theory and Process*, Second Edition, Licensing Agency, 90 Tottenham Court, London W114LP: 100-104, 122, 127-129, 130, 134, 120-145
- Welsh Tom and Greenwood Walter (1999) *McNae's Essential Law for Journalists*, (Fifteenth Edition), Butterworths a Division of Reed. Elsevier (UK) Ltd, Halsbury House, 35 Chancery Lane, London WC2A IEL, and 4 Hill Street, Edinburgh EH2 3JZ: 1-3
- West Richard and Turner Lynn H. (2004) *Introducing Communication Theory: Analysis and Application*, Second Edition, McGraw-Hill, a business unit of The McGraw-Hill Companies, Inc., 1221 Avenue of the Americas, New York, NY 10020: 375
- White Brian, Little Richard and Smith Michael (1997) (eds.) *Issues in World Politics*, Macmillan Press Ltd Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and London: 4
- Wilkinson, J, F. (1972) *The BBC and Africa in African Affairs*. Vol. 17 No. 283 April, 1972
- Williams Glanville (1961) *Criminal Law*, Second Edition, Steven and Sons Limited, of 11 New Fetter Lane in the city of London: 871-887
- Wodak R. (2008) 'Discourse Studies-Important Concepts and Terms' in Wodak R., and Krzyzanowski M. (ed.) *Qualitative Discourse Analysis in the Social Sciences* NY: Palgrave Macmillan: 2
- Wolfe, A, (1997, Fall), Is civil society obsolete? Revising predictions of the declining of civil society in whose keeper? *The Brookings Review*, 15(2), 9-12
- Wolfsfeld, Gadi (1997). *The Media and Political Conflict*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press: 207-208
- Wrightsman Lawrence S, Greene Edie, Nietzel Michael T and Fortune William H (2002) *Psychology and the Legal System*, Fifth Edition., Wadsworth Thomas Learning, 10 Davis Drive, Belmont, CA 94002-3098 USA : 9, 532-569, 540

Zack-Williams, Tunde (2012) *When the State Fails*, Pluto Press, 345 Archway Road, London N6
5AA: 3-30, 21, 22

Appendix II: Reports

African Affairs: The Journal of the Royal African Society, Vol. 110, No. 438, January, 2011.
Published. Quarterly for the Royal African Society by the Oxford University Press, ISSN
0001-1909 A Truth Commission goes abroad: Liberian Transitional Justice in New York P.
35-53 – Jonny Steinberg

Anti-Corruption Commission

Article 19 (2009) Sierra Leone: Analysis of Draft Information Law

Article 19 (2010) Welcomes Approval of Freedom of Information Act in Liberia

Article 19 (2010) ECOWAS Champions Regional Right to Information Agreement

Article 19 (2003) Broadcasting Policy and Practice in Africa

Ask And You May Receive, Report from Monitoring of Access to Information in West Africa, A
Publication of Media Rights Agenda

Auditor General's Report on the Accounts of Sierra Leone (2011)

BBC World Service Trust's (2007) Reporting Transitional Justice: A Handbook for Journalists.

Broadcasting Policy And Practice In Africa (2003) Article 19 ISBN 1-902598-50-4

Building Legitimacy: the role of the media in Sierra Leone and Liberia in post-conflict
democracy, Jon Silverman and Bernadette Cole

Communicating Transitional Justice (2007):1-42

Conflict Sensitive Reporting: A study of how the media cover conflict related. issues in Liberia,
Baseline Study

Creamer Cosette (2008), The CDF Appeals Decision: How the 'reasons for Fighting' are
Relevant to Adjudicating Violations of International Humanitarian Law: 2

Cruvellier T. (2004) War Crimes Tribunals in Africa and Sleeping Press Watchdogs – access on
www.nieman.harvard.edu/reportsitemprint.aspx

Easy Series on Criminal Justice (September, 2008) The Civil Defence Forces Decision: How the
'Reasons for Fighting' are Relevant to Adjudication Violations of International Humanitarian
Law

Entman, Robert, M. (2007), The Media in the Distribution of Power: 163-173

Ethical Space (2009), The International Journal of Communication Ethics

European Centre for Conflict Prevention (2003) The Power of the Media: A Handbook for Peace builders

Foundation Hirondelle, State of the Media Report in Sierra Leone, 2008

French Erica (2007) Commonwealth Human Rights Law Digest, Index Volume

Good Governance and Anti-corruption policy and guide: The EEA Financial Mechanism & The Norwegian Financial Mechanism 2004-2009, Adopted. 01 December 2005, Addendum: 05 May 2006

(HRW Report on the SCSL, July, 2004)

Human Rights Centre, University of California Berkeley-School of Law (2011) Talking Peace: A Population Base Survey on Attitudes about Security, Dispute Resolution, and Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Liberia.

Human Rights Watch, Getting Away with Murder, Mutilation and Rape-New Testimony From Sierra Leone, Vol. II. No. 3(A), June 1999.

Huyse L. and Salter M. (eds.) (2008) Traditional Justice and Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: Learning from African Experiences. International IDEA.

Independent Media Commission Annual Report (2008)

Independent Media Commission Annual Report (2009)

Independent Media Commission Annual Report (2010): 9

Independent Media Commission Annual Report (2011)

Independent Media Commission's Register for Television Stations

Independent Media Commission Report on the Legislative and Regulatory Context of the Mass Media in Sierra Leone (2007)

Institute for Media Policy and Civil Society, Canada (2006) Media and Peace building

Institute for War & Peace Reporting (2006) Reporting Justice: A Handbook on Covering War Crimes Courts: 2, 8

Liberia Media Centre, Conflict Sensitive Reporting: A Study of how the media cover conflict related. Issues in Liberia

Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January – February, 2008) Transitional Justice Reporting Audit: A review of media coverage of the Truth & Reconciliation Process in Liberia.

Liberia Media Centre (March - May, 2008) Transitional Justice Reporting Audit: A review of media coverage of the Truth & Reconciliation Process in Liberia.

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A

Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication Liberia Media Centre (April, 2007) A Review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions, Strengthening Liberia's media

Liberia Media Centre (January, 2009 – May, 2009) Opinion and Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption and Communication

Liberia Media Centre (November – December, 2010) Media Quality Barometer, Index of Media Performance

Environment in Liberia

Liberia Media Centre: Liberia Media Assistance Strategy – A Strategy for Support to the Independent Media within the framework of Liberia's Poverty Reduction Strategy, Arogundade Lanre and Randall Lawrence

Liberia Media Initiative for Peace Democracy and Development (2011) Ducor Debates in collaboration with the Centre for Transparency and Accountability in Liberia

Liberian Law Journal (2010) Vol. 10 No. 1 the Louis Arthur Grimes School of Law University of Liberia

Louis Arthur Grimes School of Law Newsletter (November, 2010)

Louis Arthur Grimes School of Law Newsletter (February, 2011) Volume 1, Issue 2

Making Justice Count, Assessing the impact and legacy of the Special Court for Sierra Leone, (September, 2012): 1-2, 29, 31-32

Mapping the absent voices (September 2010) A Study on Women Access and the Media's Role in Promoting Women Voices, Actionaid Liberia

Media Quality Barometer: Index of Media Performance (November – December, 2010)

Media Right Agenda (2010) Ask, And You May Receive: Report from Monitoring of Access to Information in West Africa (Ghana, Liberia, Nigeria and Sierra Leone)

National Commission for Disarmament Demobilisation and Reintegration

National Commission for Human Rights

National Commission for Resettlement Rehabilitation and Reconstruction

National Electoral Commission

National Electoral Commission Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Results, 2002

National Electoral Commission Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Results, 2007

National Electoral Commission Presidential and Parliamentary Elections Results, 2012

Official Newsletter of the Centre for Accountability and the Rule of Law, Volume 49, January-March 2011

Official Newsletter of the Centre for Accountability and the Rule of Law, Volume 50, April 2011

Official Newsletter of the Centre for Accountability and the Rule of Law, Volume 51, May 2011

Official Newsletter of the Centre for Accountability and the Rule of Law, Volume 52, June 2011

Official Newsletter of the Centre for Accountability and the Rule of Law, Volume 54 September 2011

Opinion And Attitude Study on Access to Information, Media Consumption & Communication Environment in Liberia, Conducted by the Liberia Media Center for the World Bank Development Communication Division (January 2009-May 2009)

Outreach Secretariat of Liberia October, 2007-April, 2008

Papers Presented. At the 1st Conference of ECOWAS Chief Justices And ECOWAS Court Of Justice, *Theme*: “The Judiciary as a Partner in the Regional Integration Process” (24 – 25 November, 2005)

Peacemaking and Peacekeeping for the Next Century (2 – 4 March 1995) Report of the 25th Vienna Seminar

Practical Guide to International and Regional Human Rights Instruments Applicable in Sierra Leone (October 2005)

Report of the International Commission on State Intervention and Sovereignty adopted. by the UN General Assembly in 2005

Report: Seminar on Radio Policy in Sierra Leone (May, 14-15 2003)

Reporting Justice (2006): A Handbook on Covering War Crimes Courts: 6-9, 8-10, 5-15, 14-15

Reporting Liberia PRS – Understanding the Politics of Poverty and Development, A Journalist’s Guide (December, 2008) www.liberiamediacenter.net

Reporting Liberian PRS: Understanding the Politics of Poverty and Development, A Journalist’s Guide

Reuters institute for the Study of Journalism (University of Oxford) (2011) Can it Tweet its way to democracy? The Promise of Participatory Media in Africa

Reuters institute for the Study of Journalism (University of Oxford) (2011): Mainstream Media and Distribution of News in the Age of Social Discovery: How social media are changing the production, distribution and discovery of news and further disrupting the business models of mainstream media companies.

Sierra Leone Association of Journalists’ Report of Seminar on Radio Policy in Sierra Leone (2003)

Sierra Leone: Legal and Judicial Sector Assessment (2004) World Bank Report

Sierra Leone's Government White Paper on the Report of Truth and Reconciliation Commission (2005)

Sierra Leone's State of Human Rights (2010): Annual Report of the Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone

Sierra Leone's Submission to the Universal Periodic Review of the United Nations Organisation Human Rights Council (2011)

Sierra Leone's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Report (2004) Volumes: 1, 2, 3,3A and 4

Sierra Leone's Independent Media Commission Media Code of Practice (2007)

Sierra Leone's Government Strategic Communications Plan: United. People, Progressive Nation, Attractive Country (November, 2005)

Sierra Leone's Bar Association Practical Guide to International and Regional Human Rights Instruments Applicable in Sierra Leone (October, 2005)

Special Court for Sierra Leone First Annual Report, June, 2003-May, 2004

Special Court for Sierra Leone Second Annual Report, June, 2004-May, 2005

Special Court for Sierra Leone Third Annual Report, June, 2005-May, 2006

Special Court for Sierra Leone Fourth Annual Report, June, 2006-May, 2007

Special Court for Sierra Leone Fifth Annual Report, June, 2007-May, 2008

Special Court for Sierra Leone Sixth Annual Report, June, 2008-May, 2009

Special Court for Sierra Leone Seventh Annual Report, June, 2009-May, 2010

Special Court for Sierra Leone Eighth Annual Report, June, 2010-May, 2011: 13

Special Court for Sierra Leone Ninth Annual Report, June, 2011-May, 2012

Staggs M. (2006) Second interim report on the Special Court for Sierra Leone, Access on www.ocf.berkeley.ed.u/

Strengthening Liberia's media: (April 2007) A review of media support in the post-conflict transitional period and recommendations for future actions

Suma M. (2009) the Charles Taylor Trial and Legacy of the Special Court for Sierra Leone. Briefing paper for International Centre for Transitional Justice www.ictj.org/sites/default/files/ICTJ/SierraLeone/Special-Court-2009-English.pdf

The CNN Effect: The Search for a Communication Theory of International Relations, Gilboa Eytan (2005)

The Contingency of the Mass Media's Political Agenda Setting Power: Toward a Preliminary Theory, Walgrave Stefaan & Van Aeist Peter (2006) International Communication Association

The Independent Media Commission, 2009 Annual Report

The International Journal of Transitional Justice IJTJ, Vol. 4, Issue 1, March, 2010, Editorial Note, P. 1-5

The Lawyers Centre for Legal Assistance Sierra Leone: Juvenile Justice Project Annual Report 2005

The Lawyers Centre for Legal Assistance Sierra Leone: Juvenile Justice Project Annual Report 2007

The Three Day National Consultative Conference on the Theme: "Building a United. And Cohesive Nation" (March 20 – 22, 2013)

Transitional Justice Reporting Audit: A Review of Media Coverage of the Truth and Reconciliation Process in Liberia (January-February, 2008)

Transitional Justice Reporting Audit: A Review of Media Coverage of the Truth and Reconciliation Process in Liberia (March - May, 2008)

Appendix III: Newspapers

Awoko

1. Awoko 23rd January, 2003 Vol. 10 No. 013
2. Awoko 11th March, 2003
3. Awoko 12th March, 2003
4. Awoko 13th March, 2003 Vol. 6 No 045
5. Awoko 24th March, 2003 Vol. 6 No 051
6. Awoko 26th March, 2003 Vol. 6 No. 053
7. Awoko 27th March, 2003 Vol. 6 No. 054
8. Awoko 9th April, 2003 Vol. 6 No. 059
9. Awoko 15th April 2003
10. Awoko 7th May 2003
11. Awoko, 14th May, 2003;
12. Awoko, 16th May 2003
13. Awoko, 19th May, 2003;
14. Awoko, 30th May, 2003 Vol. 6 No. 085
15. Awoko, 10th June, 2003:7, 8
16. Awoko, 11th June, 2003:1,2 6
17. Awoko, 17th June, 2003
18. Awoko, 20th June, 2003 Vol. 6 No. 099
19. Awoko, 24th June, 2003:1
20. Awoko, 27th June, 2003 Vol. 6 No. 104
21. Awoko, 9th July 2003:8
22. Awoko, 14th July 2003 Vol. 6 No. 115
23. Awoko, 22nd July 2003:5
24. Awoko, 22nd September, 2003
25. Awoko, 3rd October, 2003:1
26. Awoko, 14th October, 2003:2
27. Awoko, 10th December, 2003 Vol. 6 No 222
28. Awoko, 15th December, 2003 Vol. 6 No. 225
29. Awoko, 8th January 2004
30. Awoko, 14th January 2004:1.
31. Awoko, 15th January 2004:2

32. Awoko, 28th January 2004:2.
33. Awoko, 11th March 2004.
34. Awoko, 6th May 2004
35. Awoko, 4th June 2004
36. Awoko, 21st June 2004:4
37. Awoko, 30th July 2004:2
38. Awoko, 3rd November 2004:1
39. Awoko, 5th November 2004:1
40. Awoko, 16th January 2005
41. Awoko, 17th January 2005
42. Awoko, 24th January 2005 Vol. 8 No. 010
43. Awoko, 24th February 2005 Vol. 8
44. Awoko, 25th February 2005 Vol. 8 No. 034
45. Awoko, 3rd March 2005 Vol. 8 No 037
46. Awoko, 4th March 2005
47. Awoko, 15th March 2005
48. Awoko, 30th May 2005
49. Awoko, 28th July 2005 Vol. 8 No. 131
50. Awoko, 4th August 2005
51. Awoko, 15th August 2005
52. Awoko, 23rd September 2005
53. Awoko, 16th January 2006
54. Awoko, 17th January 2006 Vol. 9 No. 006
55. Awoko, 22nd January 2006
56. Awoko, 25th January 2006
57. Awoko, 26th January 2006 Vol. 9 No. 013
58. Awoko, 27th January 2006 Vol. 9 No. 014
59. Awoko, 29th January 2006
60. Awoko, 30th January 2006
61. Awoko, 1st February 2006 Vol. 9 No. 017
62. Awoko, 2nd February 2006 Vol. 9 No. 018
63. Awoko, 6th February 2006
64. Awoko, 7th February 2006 Vol. 9 No. 021: 10
65. Awoko, 9th February 2006 Vol. 9 No. 023

66. Awoko, 10th February 2006
67. Awoko, 13th February 2006
68. Awoko, 15th February 2006:10
69. Awoko, 16th February 2006
70. Awoko, 20th February 2006 Vol. 9 No. 030
71. Awoko, 22nd February 2006
72. Awoko, 23rd February 2006
73. Awoko, 25th February 2006
74. Awoko, 26th February 2006
75. Awoko, 27th February 2006
76. Awoko, 28th March 2006
77. Awoko, 29th March 2006
78. Awoko, 30th March 2006
79. Awoko, 8th April 2006
80. Awoko, 1st May 2006
81. Awoko, 3rd May 2006 Vol. 9 No. 080
82. Awoko, 4th May 2006 Vol. 9 No. 081: 5
83. Awoko, 5th May 2006: 1 & 11
84. Awoko, 18th May 2006
85. Awoko, 25th May 2006 Vol. 9 No. 092
86. Awoko, 29th May 2006 Vol. 9 No. 094
87. Awoko, 6th June 2006
88. Awoko, 8th June 2006
89. Awoko, 9th June 2006 Vol. 9 No. 103
90. Awoko, 14th June 2006 Vol. 9 No. 123
91. Awoko, 15th June 2006:4
92. Awoko, 22nd June 2006:2
93. Awoko, 25th August 2006:5
94. Awoko, 28th August 2006:4
95. Awoko, 8th September 2006 Vol. 9 No. 157
96. Awoko, 14th September 2006 Vol. 9 No. 161
97. Awoko, 20th September 2006 Vol. 9 No. 176
98. Awoko, 29th September, 2006
99. Awoko, 11th October, 2006

100. Awoko, 18th January 2007 Vol. 10 No. 0093
101. Awoko, 23rd February 2007 Vol. 10 No. 029
102. Awoko, 26th February 2007 Vol. 10 No. 025
103. Awoko, 27th February 2007 Vol. 10 No. 027
104. Awoko, 28th February 2007 Vol. 10 No. 028:2
105. Awoko, 2nd March 2007: 5
106. Awoko, 8th March 2007 Vol. 10 No. 034
107. Awoko, 9th March 2007 Vol. 10 No 035
108. Awoko, 12th March 2007 Vol. 10 No. 036
109. Awoko, 13th March 2007
110. Awoko, 14th March 2007 Vol. 10 No. 038
111. Awoko, 19th March 2007
112. Awoko, 29th March 2007 Vol. 10 No. 046
113. Awoko, 24th April 2007:11
114. Awoko, 4th July 2007
115. Awoko, 18th July 2007
116. Awoko, 19th July 2007
117. Awoko, 26th September 2007 Vol. 10 No. 171
118. Awoko, 10th October 2007 Vol. 10 No. 181
119. Awoko, 11th October 2007 Vol. 10 No 218
120. Awoko, 8th May 2008: 1 & 2
121. Awoko, 12th May 2008:2, 6
122. Awoko, 22nd May 2008
123. Awoko, 15th July 2008:2
124. Awoko, 21st July 2008
125. Awoko, 21st October 2008:6
126. Awoko, 14th July 2009
127. Awoko, 15th July 2009:1
128. Awoko, 14th August 2009
129. Awoko, 14th September 2009
130. Awoko, 25th November 2009:1
131. Awoko, 26th March 2010
132. Awoko, 6th August 2010
133. Awoko, 10th August 2010

- 134. Awoko, 30th April 2012:6
- 135. Awoko, 30th May 2012
- 136. Awoko, 31st May 2012:2
- 137. Awoko, 1st June 2012
- 138. Awoko, 17th October 2013

For Di People

- 139. For Di People 20th February, 2003:1
- 140. For Di People 28th February, 2003:2
- 141. For Di People 8th March, 2003
- 142. For Di People 11th March, 2003:2, 5
- 143. For Di People 13th March, 2003:4
- 144. For Di People 14th March, 2003:8
- 145. For Di People, 18th March 2003
- 146. For Di People, 19th March 2003:1, 3
- 147. For Di People, 23rd March 2003
- 148. For Di People, 24th March 2003:1, 3
- 149. For Di People 26th March, 2003:2
- 150. For Di People, 28th March 2003:3, 8
- 151. For Di People 2nd April, 2003:1
- 152. For Di People 4th April, 2003
- 153. For Di People 7th April, 2003:1, 3, 6
- 154. For Di People 8th April, 2003:2
- 155. For Di People 9th April, 2003:2, 3
- 156. For Di People 11th April, 2003:5
- 157. For Di People 14th April, 2003:5
- 158. For Di People 15th April, 2003:1
- 159. For Di People 19th April, 2003:2, 3
- 160. For Di People 22nd April, 2003
- 161. For Di People 25th April, 2003:7
- 162. For Di People 29th April, 2003:5
- 163. For Di People 5th May, 2003
- 164. For Di People 6th May, 2003:5
- 165. For Di People 7th May, 2003

166. For Di People 8th May, 2003
167. For Di People 14th May, 2003:4
168. For Di People 28th May, 2003:6
169. For Di People 4th June, 2003:1
170. For Di People 5th June, 2003:1
171. For Di People 6th June, 2003:7
172. For Di People 10th June, 2003:1, 6, 8
173. For Di People 11th June, 2003:3, 6, 8
174. For Di People 13th June, 2003:1
175. For Di People 16th June, 2003
176. For Di People 17th June, 2003:1, 4
177. For Di People 19th June, 2003:1, 7
178. For Di People 23rd June, 2003
179. For Di People 24th June, 2003:1
180. For Di People 26th June, 2003:5
181. For Di People 2nd July, 2003:3
182. For Di People 9th July, 2003:5
183. For Di People 23rd July, 2003:4, 6
184. For Di People 24th July, 2003:3, 5
185. For Di People 5th August, 2003:7
186. For Di People 6th August, 2003:8
187. For Di People 15th August, 2003:3
188. For Di People 21st August, 2003:7 & 8
189. For Di People 22nd August, 2003:1, 2, 6
190. For Di People, 17th September 2003
191. For Di People 23rd October, 2003:2
192. For Di People 3rd November, 2003:1, 3
193. For Di People 11th November, 2003:4
194. For Di People 18th December, 2003:5
195. For Di People 12th March 2004
196. For Di People 16th March 2004
197. For Di People 7th May 2004
198. For Di People 26th May 2004
199. For Di People 28th May 2004:5

200. For Di People 1st June, 2004:2
201. For Di People 23rd June, 2004:1 & 3
202. For Di People 24th June, 2004:1
203. For Di People 13th September, 2004:1
204. For Di People 16th September, 2004
205. For Di People 14th January, 2005:2
206. For Di People 7th February, 2005:6, 7
207. For Di People 15th February, 2005
208. For Di People 11th March, 2005:2
209. For Di People 28th April, 2005:6
210. For Di People 29th April, 2005:8
211. For Di People 20th May, 2005
212. For Di People 30th May, 2005
213. For Di People 17th July, 2005
214. For Di People 25th July, 2005
215. For Di People 1st August, 2005
216. For Di People 2nd August, 2005
217. For Di People 20th January, 2006:5, 8
218. For Di People 26th January, 2006:1
219. For Di People 27th January, 2006:3, 9
220. For Di People 30th January, 2006:2, 10
221. For Di People 31st January, 2006:1, 7
222. For Di People 1st February, 2006:7
223. For Di People 3rd February, 2006:3
224. For Di People 6th February, 2006:8, 9
225. For Di People 7th February, 2006:2, 5
226. For Di People 8th February, 2006:4, 6
227. For Di People 9th February, 2006:4, 5
228. For Di People 10th February, 2006:2
229. For Di People 11th February, 2006:2
230. For Di People 13th February, 2006:9
231. For Di People 15th February, 2006:1
232. For Di People 20th February, 2006
233. For Di People 21st February, 2006

- 234. For Di People 23rd February, 2006:1, 3
- 235. For Di People 28th February, 2006:10
- 236. For Di People 1st March, 2006
- 237. For Di People 7th March, 2006
- 238. For Di People 9th March, 2006
- 239. For Di People 23rd March, 2006:1
- 240. For Di People 24th March, 2006:3
- 241. For Di People 28th March, 2006
- 242. For Di People 29th March, 2006:5, 9
- 243. For Di People 30th March, 2006
- 244. For Di People 3rd April, 2006:5, 9
- 245. For Di People 4th April, 2006:9, 11
- 246. For Di People 6th April, 2006
- 247. For Di People 3rd May, 2006
- 248. For Di People 4th May, 2006:5
- 249. For Di People 15th May, 2006:11
- 250. For Di People 16th May, 2006:10
- 251. For Di People 23rd May, 2006:1
- 252. For Di People 6th June, 2006
- 253. For Di People 28th August, 2006:7
- 254. For Di People 13th October, 2006:1, 3
- 255. For Di People 17th October, 2006
- 256. For Di People 29th November, 2006
- 257. For Di People 21st February 2007
- 258. For Di People 23rd February 2007
- 259. For Di People 26th February 2007
- 260. For Di People 24th April, 2007
- 261. For Di People 4th July, 2007
- 262. For Di People 17th July 2007
- 263. For Di People 18th July 2007
- 264. For Di People 8th May, 2008:1, 2
- 265. For Di People 22nd August, 2008
- 266. For Di People 21st October, 2008
- 267. For Di People 29th June, 2009

- 268. For Di People 3rd July, 2009:1: 9
- 269. For Di People 14th September, 2009
- 270. For Di People 7th December, 2009
- 271. For Di People 26th March, 2010
- 272. For Di People 6th August, 2010:1, 2
- 273. For Di People 10th August, 2010:10
- 274. For Di People 11th August, 2010:8
- 275. For Di People 16th August, 2010:9
- 276. For Di People 10th March, 2011:10
- 277. For Di People 20th January, 2012:9
- 278. For Di People 30th April, 2012
- 279. For Di People 31st May, 2012
- 280. For Di People 27th September, 2013
- 281. For Di People 16th October, 2013

Standard Times

- 282. Standard Times, 17th January, 2003:6
- 283. Standard Times, 11th March, 2003
- 284. Standard Times, 12th March, 2003
- 285. Standard Times, 13th March, 2003
- 286. Standard Times, 14th March, 2003:4, 7
- 287. Standard Times, 24th March, 2003
- 288. Standard Times, 28th March, 2003:3
- 289. Standard Times, 7th, April 2003:6
- 290. Standard Times, 25th April 2003
- 291. Standard Times, 30th April 2003:2
- 292. Standard Times 5th May, 2003
- 293. Standard Times 7th May, 2003:1
- 294. Standard Times, 14th May, 2003:4
- 295. Standard Times, 15th May, 2003
- 296. Standard Times, 27th May, 2003
- 297. Standard Times, 4th June, 2003:2
- 298. Standard Times, 9th June, 2003:3
- 299. Standard Times, 10th June, 2003:5, 6

- 300. Standard Times, 11th June, 2003
- 301. Standard Times, 1st July 2003
- 302. Standard Times, 9th July, 2003:
- 303. Standard Times, 18th July, 2003:1
- 304. Standard Times, 23rd July, 2003:4
- 305. Standard Times, 28th July, 2003:1
- 306. Standard Times, 30th July, 2003
- 307. Standard Times, 1st August, 2003
- 308. Standard Times, 5th August, 2003:4
- 309. Standard Times, 6th August, 2003:8
- 310. Standard Times, 12th August, 2003:1
- 311. Standard Times, 15th August, 2003:3
- 312. Standard Times, 21st August, 2003:7 & 8
- 313. Standard Times, 29th August, 2003
- 314. Standard Time, 14th October, 2003
- 315. Standard Time, 23rd October, 2003:2
- 316. Standard Times, 3rd November, 2003
- 317. Standard Times, 7th January, 2004:2
- 318. Standard Times, 22nd January, 2004 Vol. 1 No. 26
- 319. Standard Times, 30th January, 2004
- 320. Standard Times, 4th February, 2004
- 321. Standard Times, 24th February, 2004
- 322. Standard Times 4th March, 2004
- 323. Standard Times, 10th March, 2004
- 324. Standard Times 12th March, 2004
- 325. Standard Times, 16th March, 2004
- 326. Standard Times, 17th March, 2004
- 327. Standard Times, 15th April, 2004
- 328. Standard Times, 1st May, 2004
- 329. Standard Times, 5th May, 2004
- 330. Standard Times, 6th May, 2004
- 331. Standard Times, 7th May, 2004
- 332. Standard Times, 14th May, 2004:4
- 333. Standard Times, 18th May, 2004

- 334. Standard Times 8th June, 2004
- 335. Standard Times, 23rd June, 2004
- 336. Standard Times, 29th June, 2004
- 337. Standard Times, 2nd July, 2004:5
- 338. Standard Times, 5th July, 2004:1, 2
- 339. Standard Times, 6th July, 2004
- 340. Standard Times, 7th July, 2004
- 341. Standard Times, 16th July, 2004
- 342. Standard Times, 30th July, 2004
- 343. Standard Times, 13th October, 2004
- 344. Standard Times, 15th October, 2004
- 345. Standard Times, 2nd November, 2004
- 346. Standard Times, 5th November, 2004
- 347. Standard Times, 8th November, 2004
- 348. Standard Times, 17th November, 2004:1
- 349. Standard Times, 13th January, 2005 Vol. 9 No. 6
- 350. Standard Times, 17th January, 2005 Vol. 9 No. 8
- 351. Standard Times, 18th January, 2005 Vol. 9 No. 9
- 352. Standard Times, 19th January, 2005 Vol. 9 No. 10
- 353. Standard Times, 26th January, 2005 Vol. 9 No. 14
- 354. Standard Times, 27th January, 2005 Vol. 9 No. 15
- 355. Standard Times, 15th February, 2005 Vol. 9 No. 28
- 356. Standard Times, 22nd February, 2005 Vol. 9 No. 32
- 357. Standard Times, 2nd March, 2005 Vol. 9 No. 37
- 358. Standard Times, 3rd March, 2005
- 359. Standard Times, 4th March, 2005:2
- 360. Standard Times, 7th March, 2005: 9: 10
- 361. Standard Times, 10th March, 2005: 3
- 362. Standard Times, 15th March, 2005 Vol. 9 No. 45: 8
- 363. Standard Times, 22nd March 2005
- 364. Standard Times, 23rd March, 2005
- 365. Standard Times, 24th March 2005
- 366. Standard Times, 29th March 2005
- 367. Standard Times, 30th March, 2005 Vol. 10 No. 2: 3

- 368. Standard Times, 7th April, 2005 Vol. 10 No. 8
- 369. Standard Times, 4th May, 2005 Vol. 10 No. 25
- 370. Standard Times, 6th May, 2005 Vol. 10 No. 27
- 371. Standard Times, 30th May, 2005 Vol. 10 No. 43
- 372. Standard Times, 31st May, 2005
- 373. Standard Times 10th June 2005
- 374. Standard Times, 30th June, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 13
- 375. Standard Times, 6th July, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 17
- 376. Standard Times, 13th July, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 22
- 377. Standard Times, 18th July, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 25
- 378. Standard Times, 19th July, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 26
- 379. Standard Times, 26th July, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 31
- 380. Standard Times, 28th July, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 32
- 381. Standard Times, 29th July, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 33
- 382. Standard Times, 1st August, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 34
- 383. Standard Times, 2nd August 2005
- 384. Standard Times, 4th August, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 37
- 385. Standard Times, 5th August, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 38
- 386. Standard Times, 9th August, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 40
- 387. Standard Times, 15th August, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 44
- 388. Standard Times, 16th August, 2005 Vol. 11 No. 45
- 389. Standard Times, 1st September, 2005 Vol. 12 No. 5
- 390. Standard Times, 14th September, 2005 Vol. 12 No. 15
- 391. Standard Times, 21st September, 2005 Vol. 12 No. 20
- 392. Standard Times, 13th January, 2006 Vol. 13 No. 31
- 393. Standard Times, 19th January, 2006 Vol. 13 No. 35
- 394. Standard Times, 24th January, 2006 Vol. 13 No. 38
- 395. Standard Times, 25th January, 2006
- 396. Standard Times, 6th February, 2006
- 397. Standard Times, 7th February, 2006
- 398. Standard Times, 8th February, 2006:4, 6, 49
- 399. Standard Times, 9th February, 2006:4 & 5
- 400. Standard Times, 15th March, 2006:1
- 401. Standard Times, 16th February, 2006

- 402. Standard Times, 2nd March, 2006 Vol. 14 No. 12
- 403. Standard Times, 15th March, 2006 Vol. 14 No. 21:1
- 404. Standard Times, 24th March, 2006:11
- 405. Standard Times, 28th March, 2006 Vol. 14 No. 30: 4
- 406. Standard Times, 29th March, 2006:2
- 407. Standard Times, 30th March, 2006 Vol. 14 No. 32
- 408. Standard Times, 4th April, 2006:11
- 409. Standard Times, 5th April, 2006 Vol. 14 No. 36
- 410. Standard Times, 6th April, 2006:5, 9
- 411. Standard Times, 11th April, 2006 Vol. 14 No. 39:1
- 412. Standard Times, 12th April, 2006:2
- 413. Standard Times, 19th April, 2006 Vol. 14 No. 43
- 414. Standard Times, 25th April, 2006 Vol. 14 No. 47
- 415. Standard Times, 26th April, 2006 Vol. 14 No. 48
- 416. Standard Times, 28th April, 2006:8
- 417. Standard Times, 2nd May, 2006
- 418. Standard Times, 3rd May, 2006
- 419. Standard Times, 4th May, 2006:5
- 420. Standard Times, 5th May, 2006:1 & 11
- 421. Standard Times, 10th May, 2006:11
- 422. Standard Times, 11th May, 2006:4, 6
- 423. Standard Times, 15th May, 2006:11
- 424. Standard Times, 16th May, 2006:5, 10
- 425. Standard Times, 23rd May, 2006
- 426. Standard Times, 31st May, 2006
- 427. Standard Times, 1st June, 2006
- 428. Standard Times, 8th June, 2006
- 429. Standard Times, 16th June, 2006:1, 11
- 430. Standard Times, 27th June, 2006
- 431. Standard Times, 4th July, 2006:2
- 432. Standard Times, 6th July, 2006
- 433. Standard Times, 11th July, 2006
- 434. Standard Times, 24th July, 2006
- 435. Standard Times, 26th July 2006

- 436. Standard Times, 1st August, 2006
- 437. Standard Times, 3rd August, 2006:2
- 438. Standard Times, 15th August, 2006
- 439. Standard Times, 17th August, 2006:2, 5
- 440. Standard Times, 25th August, 2006
- 441. Standard Times 29th August, 2006
- 442. Standard Times, 1st September, 2006
- 443. Standard Times, 5th September, 2006 Vol. 16 No. 32
- 444. Standard Times, 6th September, 2006 Vol. 16 No. 33
- 445. Standard Times, 7th September, 2006 Vol. 16 No. 34
- 446. Standard Times, 12th September, 2006 Vol. 16 No. 37
- 447. Standard Times, 15th September, 2006 Vol. 16 No. 40
- 448. Standard Times, 19th September, 2006 Vol. 16 No. 42
- 449. Standard Times, 21st September, 2006 Vol. 16 No. 44
- 450. Standard Times, 26th September, 2006 Vol. 16 No. 47
- 451. Standard Times, 3rd October, 2006 Vol. 16 No. 52
- 452. Standard Times, 10th October, 2006 Vol. 17 No. 5
- 453. Standard Times, 12th October, 2006 Vol. 17 No. 7
- 454. Standard Times, 13th December, 2006 Vol. 17 No. 50
- 455. Standard Times, 23rd February, 2007
- 456. Standard Times, 27th February, 2007
- 457. Standard Times, 28th February, 2007:10
- 458. Standard Times 9th March 2007
- 459. Standard Times, 24th April 2007:11
- 460. Standard Times, 10th May, 2007 Vol.19 No. 39
- 461. Standard Times, 7th June, 2007 Vol. 20 No. 6
- 462. Standard Times, 4th July, 2007
- 463. Standard Times, 17th July, 2007 Vol. 20 No. 32
- 464. Standard Times, 18th July, 2007 Vol. 18 No. 14
- 465. Standard Times, 19th July, 2007 Vol. 18 No.15
- 466. Standard Times, 31st July, 2007 Vol. 18 No. 23
- 467. Standard Times, 7th August, 2007 Vol. 18 No. 28
- 468. Standard Times, 8th August, 2007 Vol. 18 No. 29
- 469. Standard Times, 20th August, 2007 Vol. 21 No. 3

470. Standard Times, 24th August, 2007 Vol. 18 No. 28
471. Standard Times, 24th August, 2007 Vol. 21 No. 7
472. Standard Times, 2nd October 2007
473. Standard Times, 21st October, 2007
474. Standard Times, 8th January, 2008:1, 15
475. Standard Times, 13th February, 2008:13
476. Standard Times, 13th May, 2008:1: 6
477. Standard Times, 17th May, 2008:6
478. Standard Times, 19th May, 2008:1 & 15
479. Standard Times, 21st October, 2008:6
480. Standard Times, 29th June 2009
481. Standard Times, 3rd July, 2009:1
482. Standard Times, 16th July, 2009:10
483. Standard Times, 14th September, 2009:15
484. Standard Times, 2nd October, 2009:19
485. Standard Times, 28th October, 2009:1
486. Standard Times, 7th December, 2009:10
487. Standard Times, 25th March, 2010:4
488. Standard Times 26th March, 2010:6
489. Standard Times, 16th July, 2010:10
490. Standard Times, 5th August, 2010:11
491. Standard Times, 6th August, 2010:1
492. Standard Times, 10th August, 2010
493. Standard Times, 27th August, 2010:9
494. Standard Times, 20th September, 2010:15
495. Standard Times 10th March, 2011
496. Standard Times 30th April, 2012
497. Standard Times 31st May, 2012:2
498. Standard Times 10th April, 2013
499. Standard Times 16th October, 2013

Other Newspapers

500. BBC News, 12 October, 2013
501. BBC Focus on Africa Magazine, January-March, 2009: 9

- 502. CNN, 10th July, 2003
- 503. Afro-Times, Friday, 1st March, 1996
- 504. Afro Times, Vol. 5 No. 3, Wednesday 3rd April, 1996
- 505. Awareness Times, Tuesday, 14th May, 2013
- 506. Daily Observer, Friday, 9th March 2007
- 507. Daily Observer, 16th August, 2007:2
- 508. Global Times, Thursday 28th September 2010
- 509. Global Times, Friday, 19th April, 2013
- 510. Global Times, Monday, 13th October 2013:2
- 511. Independent Observer, Wednesday, May 1, 2013, (Front-page headline)
- 512. Independent Observer, Wednesday, May 1, 2013, (Special Commentary)
- 513. Independent Observer, Thursday, May 2, 2013, (Front-page headlines)
- 514. International Tribune, 18th July 2007
- 515. New Africa, July/August 2000
- 516. New African, March, 2006:10-11
- 517. New African, May, 2006: 8-18
- 518. New Africa, August/September, 2008: 38-41
- 519. New Africa, August/September, 2012:12-18
- 520. New Africa, 22nd – 23rd November, 2012
- 521. New African, December, 2012: 46-53
- 522. New African, March, 2014: 48-53
- 523. New African, April, 2014: 63-65
- 524. New Breed Wednesday, 13th October, 1993
- 525. New Citizen, Monday, 18th October, 1993
- 526. New Vision, Friday, 8th October 2010
- 527. New Vision, 29th August, 2013
- 528. New York Times, 8th July, 2003
- 529. News Week 17th January, 2000
- 530. Politico, Tuesday, 7th May, 2013
- 531. Politico, Wednesday, 8th May, 2013
- 532. Politico, Tuesday, 14th May, 2013
- 533. Politico, Tuesday, 4th June, 2013
- 534. Politico, Tuesday, 7th May, 2013
- 535. Politico, Wednesday, 8th May, 2013

- 536. Politico, Tuesday, 4th June, 2013
- 537. Prime Times, Friday 10th May, 2013
- 538. Premier News, 10th October 2013: 12
- 539. Sierra Leone News Hunters, Thursday, 17th October 2013
- 540. The Christian Science Monitor, Thursday, 5th July, 2007
- 541. The Daily Observer, Friday 9th March, 2007
- 542. The Democrat, 3rd December, 2003
- 543. The Democrat, 5th March, 2014
- 544. The Economist 13th-19th May, 2000: 18-32
- 545. The Exclusive, Monday 13th October 2013:31
- 546. The Liberian Times July 4 2007
- 547. The New Africa, December, 2012-January, 2013:39
- 548. Unity, Monday, 18th October, 1993
- 549. Unity, Monday, 25th June, 2012

Appendix IV: Questionnaires

Topic: Media Reporting of War crimes Trials and Civil Society Responses in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone

Questionnaire for Research Question Five (What Influence has Media Coverage had on attitudes towards Post-Conflict Justice in Sierra Leone?)

Introduction

Dear Respondent, my name is Abou Bhakarr M. Binneh-Kamara. I am a Sierra Leonean lawyer, lecturer and journalist pursuing a PhD degree in Media and War Crimes Jurisprudence at the University of Bedfordshire, United Kingdom).

I am writing a thesis on the topic: "Media Reporting of War Crimes Trials and Civil Society Responses in Post-Conflict Sierra Leone." I have already held a small number of regional focus groups but to provide me with a broader sense of civil society attitudes, I would be grateful if you would agree to respond to this questionnaire.

Be assured that whatever information you provide will be used only for the purposes of this study and not shared with anyone else. If you wish to remain anonymous, please state that clearly at the top of the returned questionnaire.

Date_____

Location_____ District_____ Province_____

BIO DATA

Name_____

Address_____

Occupation_____

Sex: Male ☐ Female ☐

Age: 20-30 ☐ 31-40 ☐ 41-50 ☐ 51-60 ☐ 61-70 ☐ 71 and above ☐

1. Are you aware of the war crimes trials of the CDF Leaders and that of Former Liberian President, Charles Taylor, conducted by the Special Court for Sierra Leone (SCSL) in Freetown, Sierra Leone and The Hague, Netherlands, respectively?
Yes ☐ No ☐
2. How did you get to know about the said trials?
Through Radio ☐ Through Newspaper ☐ Through Television ☐
3. Did you understand what the media reported about the trials of the CDF Leaders?
Yes ☐ No ☐
4. Did you understand what the media reported about the Charles Taylor trial?
Yes ☐ No ☐
5. Did the reporting of the trial of the CDF Leaders provide you with information you were previously unaware of about Hinga Norman, Moinina Fofana and Alieu Kondowai and /or the conflict in Sierra Leone?
Yes ☐ No ☐
6. If yes, how did this influence/change your opinion?
7. Did the reporting of the Charles Taylor trial provide you with information you were previously unaware of about Charles Taylor and/or the conflict in Sierra Leone?
Yes ☐ No ☐
8. If yes, how did this influence/ change your opinion?
9. Was the media's reporting of the trial of the CDF Leaders fair and balanced to both prosecution and defence?

Yes ☐ No ☐

10. If no, in what way was it unbalanced?

11. Was the media's reporting of the Charles Taylor trial fair and balanced to both prosecution and defence?

Yes ☐ No ☐

12. If no, in what way was it unbalanced?

13. Do you think the money spent on the trial of the CDF Leaders was well used?

Yes ☐ No ☐

13. If no, why?

15. Do you think the money on the trial of Charles Taylor was well used?

Yes ☐ No ☐

16. If no, why?

17. Would you rather such money had been spent on tackling poverty/improving infrastructure in Sierra Leone?

Yes ☐ No ☐

18. Did you also follow the Truth and Reconciliation Commission hearing in Sierra Leone?

Yes ☐ No ☐

19. If yes, did you learn more from the TRC reporting or reporting of the trials?

20. If the trial reporting told you more, how has it influenced your attitude towards justice in Sierra Leone?

21. Overall, did Civil Society benefit from the information reported in the trial of Charles Taylor?

Yes ☐ No ☐

22. Overall, did Civil Society benefit from the information reported in the trial of the CDF Leaders?

Yes No ☐ ☐

Appendix V: Ethnographic Surveys: Focus Group Discussions and Interviews

I developed a set of questions and forwarded them to my Director of Studies, Professor Jon Silverman, who modified some of them and authorised me to base the interviews and discussions on the following questions:

1. How aware of the two trials were you?
2. Did you follow them regularly, occasionally or not at all?
3. Can you say what you consider fair and balanced, reporting to be?
4. Within your definition of those terms, do you consider that local media provided fair and balanced, coverage of the Taylor and CDF trials?
5. If not, why not? Too biased, in favour of the prosecutor? Or too biased, in favour of defence?
6. What about the international media – BBC, Voice of America (VOA), Radio France International (RFI)? Did you hear any of it? How did it compare in thoroughness/accuracy/balance with local media?
7. Did the media coverage change the people's views in any way?
8. How does coverage of the trials in both countries impact the process of reconciliation and Justice?
9. Was the money spent on the trials worth it? Would you rather it had been spent on reconstruction/alleviating poverty?
10. How relevant were the CDF and Taylor trials to civil society in Sierra Leone and Liberia?
11. Did the media sufficiently explain the nature of the SCSL trial/a hybrid trial before it began?
12. What effects has the delay in the pronouncement of the Judgement of the Taylor trial had on civil society?

Note:

This list of questions was not exhaustive; other questions were posed as a result of the responses of the discussants.

Attendance of Discussants

Eastern Province:

The names of discussants and the organisations they represented in the respective districts in the Eastern Province are presented, below.

NO	NAMES	CELL NUMBER	ORGANISATION	DISTRICTS
1	Mohamed. K. Sei	076-709-908	Friends of the Earth-Sierra Leone	Kenema
2	Bobson N. Banya	076-461-943	Coalition of Civil Society & Human Rights Activists-Sierra Leone	Kenema
3	Saidu A. Kekura	076-903-705	Coalition of Civil Society & Human Rights Activists-Sierra Leone	Kailahun
4	Edward A. Kai	076-818-371	Amnesty International-SL	Kenema
5	Brima K. Mauna	076-952-404	Health for All Coalition-SL	Kailahun
6	David J. Allieu	076-861-277	Health for All Coalition-SL	Kenema
7	Sia Foyoh	077-229-567	Young Women in Need.	Kono
8	Abdullah Bundoh	076-636-737	Youth in Agriculture and Development	Kono
9	Mousa Mohamed. Bundor	076-538-718	Health for All Coalition-SL	Kono
10	Rebecca Momoh	077-253-485	Women in Action	Kailahun
11	Mariama Sannoh	078-388-383	Health for All Coalition-SL	Kenema

Southern Province:

The names of discussants and the organisations they represented in the respective districts in the Southern Province are presented, below.

NO	NAMES	CELL NUMBER	ORGANISATION	DISTRICT
1	Musa D. W. Graima	076-144-208	Community Advocacy & Development Movement (CADM)	Bonthe (Rutile)
2	Muctarr Shour	076-774-550	Amalgamated. Youths Movement	Bonthe (Rutile)
3	John C. Vanjah	076-922-740	K. C. D. A.	Moyamba
4	Mohamed. R. Rogers	033-435-792	BODBAN	Bo
5	Ibrahim S. Kpakuma	076-777-330	PYFD	Pujehun
6	Sheku A. Kanneh	076-546-745	HFAC-SL	Bo
7	Sannoh George Lahai	078-268-746	HUPANDA	Pujehun
8	Claudius S. Squire	076-455-277	Youth Development Association CARC-SL	Bo
9	Gibril Maada Bassie	078-475-676	CARE-SL	Bo
10	M'mama Sesay	076-654-993	NEHADO/RNS	Bo
11	Gibrilla S. Gbondo	078-268-746	NMYDA	Moyamba (Njala)

Northern Province:

The names of discussants and the organisations they represented in the respective districts in the Northern Provinces are presented. Below:

NO	NAME	CELL NUMBER	ORGANISATION	DISTRICT
1	Alfred. S. Turay	078-261-534	Health for All Coalition	Bombali
2	Salieu A. Conteh	076-404266	Centre for Coalition of Human Rights Activists	Tonkolili
3	Peter M. Bangura	076-886-652	Tonkolili District Human Rights Committee	Tonkolili
4	Yeabu Mansaray	076-837-948	Koinadugu Market Women's Association	Koinadugu
5	Anthony Kalawa Sesay	078-700-976	Coalition of Civil Society and Human Rights Activists-S/L	Kambia
6	Joseph Konowa	077-561-475	Young Men Christian Association	Kambia
7	James T. Turay	077-561-475	Human Rights Commission of S/L Northern Province	Kambia
8	Jatu Massaquoi	076-275-279	Civic Development Association	Port Loko
9	Lincoln O. Kanu	088-952-967	HFAC/CSM-SL	Port Loko
10	Mohamed. Jalloh	078-817-692	UPHR/WCR-United. for the Protection of Human Rights, Women and Children's Dignity	Kambia

Western Area:

The names of discussants and the organisations they represented in the Western Area are presented, below:

NO	NAME	ORGANISATION	AREA
1	Juana V. Saawah	Coalition of Civil Society and Human Rights Activists in Sierra Leone	Freetown
2	Gracie Bagrey	Health for All Coalition-Sierra Leone	Freetown
3	Hassan J. Kamara	Coalition of Civil Society and Human Rights Activists in Sierra Leone	Freetown
4	Michael Bockarie	Coalition of Civil Society and Human Rights Activists in Sierra Leone	Freetown
5	Cecilia M. Karim	Health for All Coalition-Sierra Leone	Freetown
6	Mariama M. Margai	Coalition of Civil Society and Human Rights Activists in Sierra Leone	Freetown
7	Koroma Alfred.- Minkailu Jr.	Coalition of Civil Society and Human Rights Activists in Sierra Leone	Freetown
8	Joseph S. Rogers	Health for All Coalition-Sierra Leone	Freetown
9	Ibrahim B. Fofanah	Health for All Coalition-Sierra Leone	Freetown
10	Charles Mambu	Coalition of Civil Society and Human Rights Activists in Sierra Leone	Freetown

NOTE:

The membership of the coalition for Civil Society and Human Rights Activists in Sierra Leone consists of representatives of all registered. civil society groups across Sierra Leone. The discussants, who were chosen to participate in the discussions in the Western Area (Freetown),

are members of different civil society groups scattered across Freetown. The cell numbers of the discussants in Freetown were not taken, because they can be easily accessed. at their headquarters in Fort Street, where the discussions were held. In fact, Fort Street is just a stone throw to where I reside in Freetown.

Appendix VI: Interviews:

Anderson P. (2011) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 26th July, 2011

Griffiths C. (2011) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara, London, 8th July, 2011

Philip Neville. (2013) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 7th August, 2013

Interviews with the Selected Media (ST, FDP Awoko) Editors:

Karim-Sei I. (2011) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 21st July, 2011

Kelvin, Lewis. (2012) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 12th December, 2012

Paul Kamara. (2012) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 13th December, 2012.

Interviews the On CDF Trials:

Betty Milton (2013) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 25th June, 2013

Karim-Sei I. (2013) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 24th June, 2013

Kelvin, Lewis. (2013) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 26th June, 2013

Paul Kamara. (2013) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 27th September, 2013

Theophilus Gbenda (2013) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 20th June, 2013

Su Thoronka (2013) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 24th June, 2013

Mohamed Abu (2013) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 26th June, 2013

Interviews On the Charles G. Taylor Trial:

Ibrahim Sorie Sesay. (2014) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown. 13th March, 2014

Karim-Sei I. (2014) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 10th March, 2014

Kelvin Lewis (2014) Personal Interview with Binneh-Kamara Freetown, 11th March, 2014

Appendix VII: Statutes, International Treaties, Conventions and Judgments of International Tribunals and Domestic Courts

Geneva Convention I for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded. And in Armed Forces in the Field (1949)

Geneva Convention II for Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded. Sick and Shipwrecked. Members of Armed Forces at Sea (1949)

General Law (Business) Start-up) (Amendment) Act, 2007

Geneva Convention III Relative to Treatment of Prisoners of War (1949)

Geneva Convention IV Relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War (1949)

Geneva Protocol I Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12 August, 1949, and Relation to the Protection of Victims of International Armed. Conflicts (1977)

Geneva Protocol II Additional to the Geneva Conventions of 12August, 1949, and Relating to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts (1977)

Government of Sierra Leone-Civil Service Code, Regulations and Rules (2011)

Liberia's Accra Comprehensive Peace Plan which was passed into law in 2005

R v Bow Street Metropolitan Stipendiary Magistrate, Ex Parte Pinochet Ugarte (No. 2), R v Bow Street Metropolitan Stipendiary Magistrate, Ex Parte Pinochet Ugarte (No. 3) 3 W.L.R. 1456 House of Lords, 1998

Sierra Leone Media Code of Practice (SLMCP) (2000) and Section: 8, 38 of Act No 12 of 2000 as Amended in 2006 and 2007.

Sierra Leone's Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction and Development Act No. 5 (1999)

Sierra Leone's Lome Peace Accord (1999)

Sierra Leone's Lome Peace Accord Ratification Act No. 3 (1999)

Sierra Leone's Truth and Reconciliation Commission Act, (2000)

Sierra Leone's Independent Media Commission Act (2000)

Sierra Leone's Independent Media Commission (Amendment) Act (2006)

Sierra Leone's Independent Media Commission (Amendment) Act (2007)

Sierra Leone's National Commission on Small Arms Act No. 6 (2010)

Sierra Leone's National Security and Central Intelligence Act No. 10 (2010)

Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone (2002)

Statute of the Special Court for Sierra Leone (Ratification) Act No. 9 (2002)

Special Court for Sierra Leone Trial Chamber 1 Judgement on the Civil Defence Forces Trial (2nd August, 2007) (The Prosecutor V Moinina Fofana and Allieu Kondowa – Case No SCSL-04-14-T): 72

Special Court for Sierra Leone Appeals Chamber Judgement in the Civil Defence Forces Trial (28th May, 2007) (The Prosecutor V Moinina Fofana and Allieu Kondowa – Case No SCSL-04-14-T)

The Anti-Human Trafficking Act, 2005

The Anti-Money Laundering Act, 2005

The Armed Forces of the Republic of Sierra Leone (Amendment) Act, 2000

The Armed Forces of the Republic of Sierra Leone (Amendment) Act, 2003

The Case: Justice Tolla Thompson v Paul Kamara

The Commission for the Management of Strategic Resources, National Reconstruction And Development Act, 1999

The Constitution of Sierra Leone, 1978, Chapter: II

The Constitution of Sierra Leone, 1991, Chapters: 2, 3 and 4

The Constitution of Sierra Leone, Section 5 (1) & (2), 13

The Constitution of Sierra Leone (Amendment) Act, 2002

The Constitution of Sierra Leone (Amendment) Act, 2008

The Constitutional and Statutory Instruments Act, 1999

The Courts (Amendment) Act, 2006

The External Telecommunications Tax (Amendment) Act, 2004

The Government of Sierra Leone Strategic Communications Plan, “United. People, Progressive Nation, Attractive Country” (November 2005)

The Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone Act No. 9 (2004)

The Legal Practitioners (Amendment) act, 2004

The Legal Practitioners (Amendment) Act, 2005

The Local Courts Act, 2011

The Lome Peace Agreement (Ratification) Act, 1999

The National Security and Central Intelligence Act, 2002

The National Youth Commission Act, 2009

The Other Financial Services (Amendment) Act, 2007

The Public Procurement Act, 2004

The Prosecutor v Charles G Taylor SCSL 03-01 Trial Judgement May 2012

The Prosecutor v Ferdinand Nahimana Jean-Bosco Bagayagwiza and Hassan Ngeze Case No ICTR/99/52/T, December, 2003

The Prosecutor v Tadic, IT-94-1 (ICTY) 1995

The Regulation of Wages and Industrial Relations Act, 1971

The Revolutionary United Front of Sierra Leone (Participation in Political and Democratic Processes) Act, 1999

The Sierra Leone Broadcasting Corporation Act, 2009

The Sierra Leone Citizenship (Amendment) Act, 2006The Sierra Leone National Commission on Small Arms Act, 2010

The Special Court Agreement, 2002 (Ratification) Act, 2002

The Special Court for Sierra Leone: Media Coverage of Charles Taylor

The Special Court for Sierra Leone Outreach, Legacy and Impact: Report on the local media in Sierra Leone and coverage of the Special Court (February 2008)

The State Proceedings Act, 2000

The State of Human Rights in Sierra Leone: Annual Report of the Human Rights Commission of Sierra Leone (2010, 2011, 2012 & 2013)

The Summary Ejection (Amendment) Act, 2006

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission Act No. 4(2000)

The Universities Act, 2005

White Paper on the Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (June, 2005)